

BLACK FLAG



Vol. VI

No. 7

APRIL 1981

25p

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

NEW CROSS 13

ON 17TH JANUARY 13 CHILDREN WERE KILLED IN A FIRE AT NO. 439 NEW CROSS ROAD, LEWISHAM, SOUTH LONDON. SEVERAL REASONS HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD AS TO THE CAUSE OF THE FIRE BY THE PRESS, THE TELEVISION, THE POLICE, WHICH DIFFERED FROM THE VIEWS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY. THIS IS THE SEVENTEENTH ATTACK ON INDIVIDUALS OR SMALL GROUPS OF THE BLACK POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN. SOME PEOPLE WHO WERE AT THE PARTY ON THE NIGHT OF THE FIRE BELIEVE THE FIRE WAS STARTED BY MEMBERS OF THE RACIST RIGHT-WING NATIONAL FRONT.

Several days after the fire, telephone calls telling them how glad their callers were that their children have died, and threatening them that they will be the next victims of attack.

Three months have elapsed since that incident, yet no-one has been charged. Partly in relation to the police's indifference, a march was organised in which 16,000 people took part. The march started at the site of the fire and proceeded to Hyde Park, passing through Fleet Street on the way. A scuffle broke out between police and the marchers, because the police provoked the marchers by altering the route to which they had previously agreed. Twenty-three people were arrested and charged for various offences.

A fund has been set up to help the families of the dead children and donations of any amount will be greatly appreciated, please send your donation to:

New Cross Fire Fund, c/o Race Today Collective, 74 Shakespeare Road, LONDON SE24 UK.

ISOLATED INCIDENT?

In the past Four years ALONE there have been 17 racist killings (and probably many other unreported cases).

1. Mrs Gautam, aged 64, burned to death in August 1976 in Leamington Spa.
 2. Two students in Woodford on 21st May 1976.
 3. Gurip Singh Chaggar in Southall on 4th June 1976.
 4. Emmanuel Allombah in Paddington on 24th February 1977.
 5. Kenneth Parshard Singh, aged 10 in Plaistow on 20th April 1978.
 6. Altab Ali in Whitechapel on 4th May 1978.
 7. Ishaque Ali in Hackney on 23rd June 1978.
 8. Benjamin Thomson in Harlesden on 14th July 1978.
 9. Michael Nathaniel on 29th July in Harlesden.
 10. Michael Ferreira in Hackney on 10th September 1978.
 11. Abdul Aziz in Peterborough on 12th January 1979.
 12. Kayimarz Anklesaria on a tube in East London on 10th August 1979.
 13. Sewa Singh Sinder in Windsor on 1st January 1980.
 14. Famous Vuthela Mgutshini at Liverpool St. Station on 27th March 1980.
 15. Akhtar Ali Baig in East Ham on 17th July 1980.
 16. Louston Parry, aged 14, in Manchester on 29th September 1980.
- In January 1971 - exactly 10 years ago - a fire bomb was thrown into a black people's party in London, maiming and disfiguring many people.

Research: Black Women's Group



13 OF OUR CHILDREN MURDERED JAN '81

ANDREW GOODING
OWEN THOMPSON
PAUL RUDDOCK
YVONNE RUDDOCK
PATRICIA JOHNSON
PATRICK CUMMINGS
STEVE COLLINS
LLOYD HALL
HUGH FRYBURN
GLEN POWELL
LILIAN HENRY
PETER CAMPBELL
BERRY PRINCE

Mrs. Hyacinth Haynes, mother of one of the teenagers injured in the fire, said some of the relatives had also received telephone calls gloating over the fire deaths.

She said one of the letters, posted in Catford, stated, "What a great day it was last Sunday when I heard about the fire and all those niggers going up in flames. I hope the black bastard that mugged me was there."

inside

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TURKEY
MEGLOMANIA
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THE NATIONALITY BILL MASSACRE?

This old Bill will decide who is British and who is not? No doubt the colour of people's skin will be an important factor (will Japanese people be considered honorary whites as in South Africa? Chinese people will have the same status as in Apartheid land, that is to say coloured?)

This Bill makes scapegoats out of coloured people; a fine tactic of divide and rule, Powell started the work and Thatcher took a lot of the National Front paraphernalia into her own hand bag. Obviously coloured people were "British" when they fought in two world wars and elsewhere, and were also "British" when the economic boom was in full swing, today they are immigrants to be soon deported if this Bill becomes Law. We can hear the same racist noise coming from France,

and the pigs who grunt this reactionary crap are none other than Marchais and Co from the Communist Party.

Whitelaw and his boot boys (is this a coincidence that a Home Secretary is called by such a name?) will be there to enforce the Bill, helped no doubt by Rees that other fighter for Black people's rights (remember the infamous virginity tests that were carried out during his time as Labour Home Sec. - it must be a wonderful experience to be a member of that pigsty called the Labour Party).

THE FIRE

The most striking feature of the fire at New Cross is the rapidity with which it spread throughout the house, it could only be the work of professionals

Continues on page..... 4



Organ of the ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



HOW WE STAND as at March 17th 1981

Printing on A/C	120.00	
Postage (phenomenal)	108.00	
Salaries (usual)	NIL	228.00
Sales & Subs *	158.50	
Donations *	44.20	
Armed robberies, foreign subsidies (sorry to disappoint NIL		202.70

Loss (Not to be paid except we owe printer, who forget to send in the last bill)	25.30
Previous deficit	3374.61

TOTAL NOW BEHIND. . . £3582.61

*DONATIONS

Cambridge B.W. £2; Argyll J.S. £20; A. Wales Comrades £2.20; London Printers' Collection £15; Smithfield Mob £5.

What can one say we haven't said before? If we only get paid for every copy that went out, or every sub was paid up, the deficit would vanish and the paper would devote its profits to prisoners as intended.

Now it merely subsidises the postage of the Black Cross. On the present basis it can come out — if not every month. But it cannot go forward to becoming an effective force to help class war prisoners.

MUTUAL AID

Manchester MJN £5; Guam SS £22.48; Cosham SB £8; I/H — Total £80.52
Families of 'La Scala' prisoners — 40.00

In Hand £40.52

Thanks to unknown comrades who passed over donations to Turkish comrades for prisoners — presumably the same ones who were travelling through Greece and gave to Greek prisoners.

One step forward in the treatment of prisoners — though mostly recognised political prisoners — is the ability to work for themselves, in the Irish Republic and the North of Ireland alike. The main prison craft is in leatherwork and we can vouch that some of the souvenirs turned out — wallets, billboards etc — are of a very high quality.

Yet in all these things there is an element of doubt and no reform ever quite succeeds. Prison work takes time, money and more effort than the outside equivalent.

Often (we are told by an Irish comrade, to her disgust) it seems people put in orders to prisoners and do not pay them fairly. When someone is ordering hand-made work for a prisoner, they do not think a decent payment is called for (after all, they've plenty of time on their hands in there. . .) People tend to give a minute amount for something made by a prisoner in harassing conditions, with a lack of equipment, and surrounded by barbed wire and guns in the bargain.

The availability to work in prison is a step forward from the demoralisation of enforced idleness. Like all reforms, it doesn't go far enough. What a pity it gets abused by those posing as friends of prisoners. If you can help Irish prison handicraft, do so at a fair price.



ABSENT FRIENDS

Our comrades Dave Campbell, Brian Gibbons, Malcolm Simpkins & Phil Ruff have now all been released; (Dave & Brian in June '80, Malcolm in December '80 & Phil in March '81). Welcome Home.

THE NEW ANARCHIST SONGBOOK IS OUT NOW AND AVAILABLE THROUGH 121 BOOKSHOP, 121 RAILTON ROAD, HERNE HILL, LONDON SE24. PRICE 80p (exc.p&p). Here is just a selection of the praises heaped on this book:

"We urge all Trotskyists and serious socialists to suppress this sectarian petit-bourgeois adventurist egotistical slander on the only real revolutionary movement today". *Corin & Vanessa Redgrave, Tony Cliff & Pope Paul Foot.*

"Token feminism at its worst" *Shiela Rowbotham*

"Politically accurate" *Frankie Armstrong*

"Really deep, definitely faeces/thesis material" *Chris Knight & E P Thompson*

"Pseudo-revolutionary drivel" *Tony Allen, Maggie Steed, Richard Ingrams, Linton Kwesi Johnson, John Cooper-Clarke, Belt n Braces.*

"No commercial potential" *Crass/Poison Girls.*

"Lame, dreary, pretentious & predictable" *Richard Strange, Malcolm & the Ants, Adam McLaren.*

"Best Book of the 80's after the Christie File" *Cienfuegos Press Review No. 6*

"Incomprehensible" *Autonomists/LWG/RF*

"Only serious attempt at humour besides ours" *South London Stress*

"Wot no sexpistols" *Chelsea Punx*

"This isn't 'anarchist', it's dangerous — only the violent lunatic fringe of the movement will be amused" *Freedom/Peace News.*

"Ere you must be joking, if you think if this is what is to be done" *Angry Brigade II*

"Trendy, avante-garde — ahead of its time — student wankers" *AWA & DAM*

"Workerist, trite knee-jerk humour" *Solidarity for Socialist Revolution/Refuse.*

"The finest revolution in scanning since T.S. Eliot" *John Betjeman — Poet Laureate*

Black Flag Page 2

WITHOUT ANY notice to our readers we had to suspend our airmail list: the issue was already late when came news of the rise in airmail rates which would have added over £100 to our bill with no way of recovering it. We hope airmail readers won't mind that without notice they received their last copy seamail. It was quicker in any case doing it that way than waiting until we got enough cash in.

We hope everyone has had their copy. We have missed out one or two months due to unavailable pressure, and also to lack of material anyway. We prefer missing an issue. But we hope the Flag's worth waiting for. . .

VOLUME VI NO 7 25P

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BLACK FLAG's typesetting and layout production is rotated at present — thus the different styles with each issue. Two members of the collective who prepared this issue went to Belfast for a few days and during this time had the ANARCHIST SONGBOOK printed at JUST BOOKS. The direct experience of being in a city under military occupation, (in the attrition of protracted guerrilla warfare) and economic depression can not be understood as clearly from the printed word, photograph, even video or film documentary.

The existence of JUST BOOKS probably the best anarchist bookstore/cafe/typesetting — video & printshop in Britain is remarkable. But, the grim situation has even penetrated this clear-spot and many of the collective members we found to be stoic. The ability to survive/cope with an unliveable reality means repressing yourself to protect yourself from State repression, understandably few individuals break out of this catatonia.

JUST BOOKS is divided into 3 floors — ground floor: a wide selection of anarchist, feminist, Irish culture, marxist, books, records, badges & posters. The second floor has a cafe which is opened 3 days a week: Thurs, Fri, and Saturday. The food is varied, very tasty and cheap. The top floor has the print room with typesetting & headlining facilities.

The typesetting and layout in this issue we dedicate to Dave the printer of JUST BOOKS who offered such amazing support and his friendliness was overwhelming. We urge any comrades travelling to Belfast to look up Dave who to us truly represented anarchy in action.



THE FIRST MAYDAY: the Haymarket speeches 1895-1910 by Voltairine de Cleyre, Intro & bibliog. by Paul Avrich (Cienfuegos Press, Libertarian Book Club, Soil of Liberty, £1)

This very attractively produced booklet has come out as a result of co-operation by three publishing houses. It is an unashamed hagiography in the "classical" anarchist tradition: after the Chicago Anarchists were hanged by the police, year after year speeches were made on the anniversary date (November 11, always considered as Anarchist Day). Usually, the speeches fell to one of the three great anarchist orators in America: Emma Goldman, Lucy Parsons and Voltairine de Cleyre. This volume is a collection of the speeches commemorating the martyrdom by the last, named, which were delivered between 1895 and 1910.

Nothing could have been more in the anarchist tradition to herald a new experiment in book production — international co-operation, which is now more than ever possible in the English-speaking countries; it has been seen again the the co-operation between Cienfuegos Press and Partisan Press (USA) with the production of *The Christie File* (the first copies of which have arrived, are being reviewed, and have been despatched to CPAR subscribers).

URGENT APPEAL!

Luis Andres Edo well known anarchist militant and CNT member still faces charges of "possession of arms" and "falsification". He remains in the Carcel Modelo while the others charged with him have since been released. As a would be defence witness in the Scala trial (see report elsewhere in this issue) last november this arrest prevented his appearance.

Please write to: the Spanish Ambassador, 24 Belgrave Square SW1 X8QA

France, ACQUITTED!

Octavio Alberola and nine others accused of anti-Franco activities, following their trial in Paris.

LONDON MARCH 18th. AEROFLOT USSR AIRLINES. Piccadilly Office was attacked. Was it over El Salvador, Poland, Afghanistan, Soviet dissidents, would-be Israelites or autonomy for Nationalists? No!! It's 60 years since March 1921 when Trotsky and Lenin crushed the KRONSTADT SOVIET. Proletarian Offensive claimed responsibility.

Liber Forti, our comrade in Bolivia, who represented the tin miners has been expelled from that country following the international campaign to get him out of the hands of the military dictators.

Anyone wanting to help anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organisations being persecuted on the Latin American continent should contact;

CLLA, Cercle Garcia Lorca, 15 Rue Gracieuse, 75005 Paris France organised a First Encounter of Latin Americans in Europe on January 31st and February 1st. Those libertarians interested in Latin American problems and Latin American libertarians resident in Europe are welcome to contact the organisers.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Who was the "little gentleman in the velvet waistcoat" who (because he killed the lawful king) was for years the subject of Tory loyal toasts?
2. What modern statesman began his career by measuring the lengths of bathing costumes to see if they conformed with current notions of decency?
3. Which lesser, but equally known, modern statesman rose to power by writing highly obscene sex tracts?
4. What was "Trotsky's curse" on Norway?
5. What has Jane Clarke of Great Wigston — accused in 1712 of witchcraft — to do with anarchism?

ANSWERS ON PAGE ...11....



Voltairine de Cleyre

LETTERS

I prefer the present large style of Black Flag, although it was pointed out to me that the old style had one advantage - when storing away all the unsold copies, they take up less room. Keep up the good work!

A.S. Plymouth.

Unsold copies! Local Library Reading Rooms, Laundromats, wherever a queue or boredom is on the agenda.....

Dear B.Flag,

I consider Angry Brigade II to be a figment of someone's fertile imagination and about as useful. I have listened intently for the sound of musket fire and the popping of explosives but the silence is not disturbed. Coming after the embarrassing attempt at martyrdom in a recent issue I am beginning to wonder if B.F. is worth the paper it is printed on (I've supported it since 1967).

We need information (and analysis) which is unobtainable in the gutter press. The hysteria and sensationalism is best left to the tabloids.

Yours,

Roy Emery

£5 Subscription enclosed.

We printed the Angry Brigade communique without comment. No mention was made in it of "musket fire and explosives". Having checked its source, it seemed a reasonable statement by a group within the libertarian tradition which has proved itself. Should we refrain from publishing it because capitalist press propaganda has surrounded it with "hysteria and sensationalism"?



INEQUALITIES AMONG STUDENTS

This academic year 1980-1981, overseas students in British Universities and colleges are going to pay three times more than British for the same Education, ie. around £2,000 £3,500 for fees only. The same time last year, fees for undergraduate education, for overseas students was about £1,000 p.a.

This increase in a year has the effect that a lot of students had to stop their education being unable to pay their fees.

This rule does not apply for students living in this country for more than 3 years. Students from EEC countries, even though overseas, pay as home students, but Greek citizens are not included since Greece joined the EEC on 1st of January.

For this unequal treatment of overseas students there is no logical explanation, apart from divide-and-rule which has made Student Unions unable to take any action against the Law. This unequal treatment of overseas students is not something new. It passed as Law a few years ago under a Labour Govt.



Dear Black Flag,

I think the point must be made that Johnny Rotten and co. simply put a name to the youth intolerance and agitation which gave rise to the new wave. What remotely politically aware friends I have (I am 18 incidentally) have various idiosyncratic ideas and biases where politics are concerned but there is one uniting thread that runs through their opinions on politics and life in general and that is that they are all hopelessly disillusioned with the entire political spectrum, i.e. the means of voicing grievances, the amount of personal freedom and choice or, moreover, the lack of it, the parties, the members, the institutions and, in fact, the whole lumbering, reptilian, ogre that is 'the system'.

In my father's generation and amongst the poor souls harking back to the days of my father's generation there thrived and thrives the belief in the party solution, the strict, dogmatic, this-is-the-recipe-for-a-better-world syndrome be it Marxism, Trotskyism, Stalinism, Leninism, Mosleyism, Castroism or any other of the bewildering isms of the political scene.

Nowadays though, I would say that the youth of the seventies/eighties are beginning to look at things with a refreshing individualism born of the distrust of the 'parties'. This new outlook is, as I have said, refreshing and it is also very anarchistic. Of course I do not intend to make out that this outlook is a tidal wave carrying every modern day youngster along with it, and neither

In response to your correspondent's letter in the January issue regarding Buddhism, illusion in the Buddhism sense refers to the feeling of separateness from the "whole of reality" i.e. the rest of the universe, which is induced by the mental use of language. The use of language separates the "whole of reality" into its respective parts and induces a sense of isolation in the individual.

Buddhism is a "way" to regaining the lost feeling of completeness. Thus your correspondent's letter re action and non-action, action and thought uses two of an infinite number of dualities which are in Buddhist essence one and the same.

Whilst writing to you and as religion is deeper than the pen, I regard both Buddha and Jesus as early anarchists whose work has been debased by the institutions who have used their names. I have always thought that the anarchist movement could

would I try to suggest that it is a definite and structured genre of political activity. It is more a mood, a tension, a spontaneous reaction, as sporadic as gunfire. Thus, I would say that anarchy was the driving force behind the youths of the new wave long before Johnny Rotten officially announced it.

This mood, this new outlook that I have discussed, is held distinct from mere run of the mill political clap trap by its characteristic vibrance and independence from crippling, rule book, step by stepism as I have said. But therein lies the potential downfall of that self same 'new wave'.

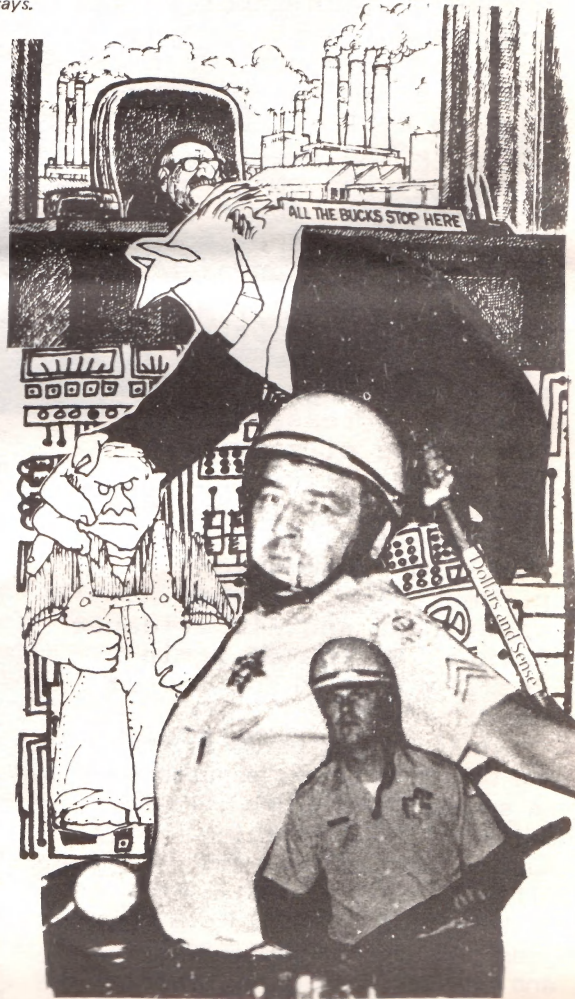
It is the flexibility and non-constrictiveness of these aims, methods, and activities which makes anarchism the free force that it is or, at least, should be. The problem I have mentioned gives rise to manifold disadvantages. The flexible description of an anarchist can lead to people who are simply vandals in their outlook taking a stand under the anarchist banner. One must always remember when discussing the Sex Pistols and anarchy that Anarchy In The UK contained the same type of evasive, moronic, violence that has resulted in every ultra-violent group under the sun labelled 'anarchist'.

We of course know that this is nonsense but the massive wave of disgust and opposition towards punk rock from councils, newspapers, television, citizenry, police, the entertainment industry as a whole (I could go on for millenia) is illustrative of the distortion and non-productive stagnation that can be

make a vast leap forward by cross referring its ideals to the works of the religious leaders. The new testament in the Bible is an excellent anarchist handbook - and to those who disagree how about the reference to cutting down a tree that brings forth bad fruit.

C.A. Farnsworth
Pontypool, Gwent.

It is easy to sentimentalise the New Testament but one can pick texts in it to suit all purposes. How about the parable of the labourers who contracted for a penny and, having worked all day in the sun, found themselves with no differential from those whom only worked a few hours at the end? What self-respecting shop steward could accept that? It's easier to find libertarian sentiments in Buddhism because nothing in its sacred writings ever seems to mean what it says.



wrought by the 'Don't know what I want, but I know how to get it.' attitude.

I would say though, when all is said (if not all is done) that the good done by Punk Rock out-weighed the bad. It was inevitable with such a youthful cadre and such rabid opposition that mistakes would be made and quicksand stepped in. The new wave was a revolution of the mind as much as anything else and, accepting that anarchism of society cannot take place until anarchism of the mind, then movements like Punk Rock shall always play an important part in the struggle.

With anarchist greetings,
David Malcolm

The Conservatives simply increased the rates. It is also noticeable that, at least among western European countries, Britain is the only one, in which an overseas visitor has to inform the police wherever he goes, or any change of a address.

If this continues then, as a result, less overseas students will come to this country for studies. They can easily switch to cheaper countries. The result is that more courses and colleges will close, with more unemployment. One other factor is that some colleges and universities are in small towns in which the students are vital for the local economy.

How does this affect the rest of the community? Somebody comes here and gets trained in a certain type of machinery, eg. engineers, computer operators, and then goes back home.

Students in occupation of University College London in protest against increased fees for overseas students. Queen Mary and LSE joined them.



Being in a position to order something, he is going to order it from Britain, since he has been trained in this machinery with an effect of more British exports and more jobs for local workers. If he goes to study elsewhere then he simply orders them from elsewhere with all the resulting effects. There are plenty of countries with advanced technology.

This action of the British Government against overseas students, which has taken on the size of a pogrom is going to boomerang on the British economy.

I would like to know if the British government thought about all this before they decided to have less "bloody foreigners" in this country!

Eleftheros.

THE SUPERGRASS STRATEGY

PART 3

The origins of deals struck between supergrasses and the police are never revealed in court, despite recent attempts by defendants to do this. Often they are the result of police back-room intelligence and would, if revealed, expose an oasis of worms in a desert of apparently effective policing. The police, or more particularly, elite squads such as the robbery squad are past masters of reassembling the fabric of a crime and moving, like chess pieces, bodies in and out of the frame, to fit a polished prosecution presentation. The new supergrass and his evidence have to be looked at in the light of these covert machination.

In July 1979, David Smith and George Williams appeared as supergrasses in the trial of Daniel Gowan, Patrick Austin, Bernard Rees and Alfie Berkley. At the end of the trial, presided over by judge Michael Argyle, Gowan and Berkley were given brutal and staggering sentences of twenty-five years each for a series of robberies. Argyle, who admitted that Smith and Williams were 'two of the most dangerous criminals in Britain's history', said, 'It was nauseating to hear these hypocrites and to reflect that as a matter of policy they have only been sentenced to five years each.' This statement, ringing rather hollow in the light of Gowan's and Berkley's sentences, was in sharp contrast to the one made by the recorder of London, James Miskin, when he sentenced Smith to his five years in February 1979. Miskin told Smith that he was receiving only five years because; 'you have had the courage to name names and so have put yourself and your relatives in peril. I believe that in the interests of justice, men who behave like you should be entitled to the benefit I am giving'. Expediency perhaps, but justice?

One of the accounts on the accounts on the indictment against Smith at his 'trial' was that of the manslaughter of Kurt Hess in 1971. During a robbery in August of that year, Smith coshed Hess so brutally that he died three weeks later of his injuries. Despite the fact that Lundy would have preferred to leave the matter out entirely, the police were precipitated into charging Smith with murder when Hess's son and his wife made strong complaints about the lack of progress in their relative's case. However, because a five year sentence for murder would have appeared



odd, the charge was changed to manslaughter after consultation with the DPP. The other two men, previously charged with the murder of Hess also had their charges changed to manslaughter giving an assurance that they would not testify against Smith and so affect his credibility as a supergrass. These men eventually received a two year suspended sentence, a number of other offences having been taken into consideration.

Serious as the manslaughter of Hess appears, it is generally believed that Smith was responsible for at least one other murder which he was never charged with. In 1971, a bookmaker who was selling a quantity of stolen minerals was shot in the head and relieved of around £20,000, his body was later found dumped in a car park in East London. Smith was questioned about this murder but no charges were preferred then, nor have been since.

George Williams, who also gave evidence at the trial of Berkley and Gowan received five years at the Old Bailey

in November 1978. He had been charged with possession of firearms and had as many as 60 offences of robbery taken into consideration. Like Smith, Williams appears to have admitted to his part in a murder, which the police later put down to death by natural causes. In October 1967, the manager of a Sainsbury's super market in Swiss cottage was waylaid on his way home to St. Albans. Smith and Williams both took part in the robbery of the supermarket safe, to which they had gained access with keys taken from the manager.

It is believed that Williams 'looked after' the manager in the car outside the supermarket; he was found dead the following days slumped over the wheel of his own car, apparently having died from a heart attack.



While murder and manslaughter are often seen by professional robbers as an inefficient and unfortunate hazard of the general circumstances of armed robbery, certain 'crimes' are determined as greater moral outrages. This is particularly true of sexual offences against children and on such matters the professional criminal milieu strikes a more stridently punitive stance than the State. William Amies was awarded the statutory sentence of five years in October 1978 in Liverpool after turning Queens Evidence against a number of London villains. In the course of one robbery which Amies pleaded to, and which took place in Liverpool, a young boy was sexually assaulted. On another, a young girl was stripped and threatened

with rape in front of her family if the father failed to co-operate. It is said that on both these occasions other members of the team stepped in to restrain Amies.

At the end of the trial involving Gowan, Austin, Rees and Berkley, Judge Argyle made an award of £150 out of public funds to Sergeant Bernard Craven. Craven, a member of the Flying Squad, was working under Lundy and was responsible for Amies during his trial in Liverpool. According to the Daily Mail (July 26th. 1980), Craven was awarded the £150 because although 'he had carried out interrogations for the case', he had 'to retire as a result of injuries sustained when he was assaulted while escorting a supergrass'. To anyone who had shown surprise at the small amount of this criminal injuries compensation, and the way in which it was awarded, the facts of the case would have been easy to uncover.

In January 1979, two Liverpool men were charged with grievous bodily harm to Craven and Amies after a fight in the Crows Nest public house in Liverpool. Both men were granted bail and later the charges were dropped against them. It is common knowledge now, that Craven was in fact accompanying Amies on one of the frequent binges that supergrasses in custody have become entitled to. Amies was recognised in the pub and set upon by morally indignant villains. The fact that Craven lost his gun in the incident, as well as his charge, is much more probably the reason for his sudden and embarrassed demise than his 'extensive injuries'.



Continues on page.....10

Continues from page.....1..... THE NEW CROSS SYNDROME

- there are enough NF members with police ties, or maybe an "off-duty SAS team" who would accept such a contract. The result was a first class job, some people could not even recognize their relatives the bodies being so badly charred. One person whose son was missing even came to the conclusion that he must have perished in the fire. STATE STRATEGY?

The fire infuriated the black community, violence followed (the police saw to that), the TV camera cameras filmed for further proof that black people are nothing but thugs...the entire press

Black Flag Page 4

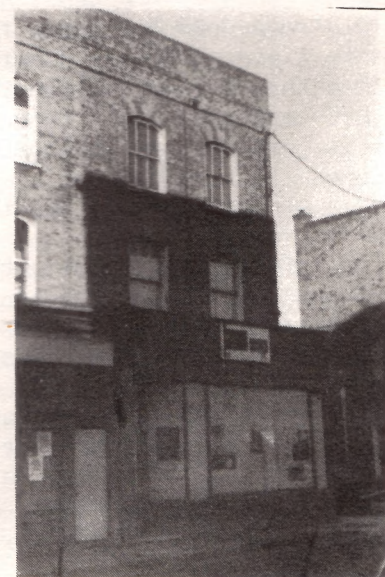
served up to it's readers headlines such as: "WHEN THE BLACK TIDE MET THE THIN BLUE LINE" and "RAMPAGE OF A MOB"..... Using dirty tricks, the Conservatives seem determined to pass this bloody Bill at all costs. THE STATE IS A MEAN MACHINE, the NEW CROSS SYNDROME is not new, it has been tried out in Italy. In 1969 a bomb exploded in a Milan bank, killing 18 people. The piazza Fontana massacre was orchestrated by the Secret Services of the Italian State. The same experiment was tried out in France, with the bombing in rue Copernic, indeed

today IT IS THROUGH TERRORISM THAT THE STATE INTENDS TO REMAIN IN BUSINESS! The dirty tricks did not end with Watergate.

All this world is like this town called Atlanta-terror city! Long live all those who fight against it!

16-3-81 The Ripple Press

New Anarchist Bookshop opened in South London - 121 Raiton Road, Herne Hill SE24 (Tube: Brixton). Hours opened: Thursday 2-6pm; Friday 2-6pm & Saturday 12-6pm. Meetings Saturday at 3pm. New collective members welcome.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

TURKEY The Crossroads

from an article by Jusuf Dag

Straddling East and West, Turkey, with its 42 million inhabitants, has one of the highest rates of population growth in the whole of Europe. For an under-developed capitalist nation, that means a high incidence of poverty and unemployment (over 5 million unemployed).

Development has meant that year after year there has been an accelerated exodus away from the land and into the principal urban concentrations such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Mersin, Iskenderun, etc. . .

POLITICS

The Far Right.

- Necmettin Erbakan's Party of National Salvation.
- Alpaslan Turkes's National Action Party.
- The Nationalist Movement.
- The Party of Confidence.
- The Party of Democracy.

Firmly rooted in the country (especially in rural areas), Fascism with a Turkish face relies for its impact upon nationalism and the teachings of Islam.

To date, every government whether reformist or conservative, has been obliged to allot certain ministries to these far-right groups in order to secure a majority in the national assembly.

Active at every level and especially fond of the iron bar and the bomb fascist 'commandos' or 'groups' enforce a reign of terror in the university campuses (the universities have been shut down, often for a year at a time . . .) and in working class areas (with machine-gunning of bars and trade union premises and premises of workers' associations).

THE RIGHT

Suleyman Demirel's Justice Party

Alternatively in and out of power, Demirel's party has assumed power as a partner in the Nationalist Front which embraces the right and the far right.

The policies it has adopted have been barely distinguishable from those of so-called "reformist" governments.

The Justice Party has considerable support among the financier bourgeoisie, in the army and among part of the population of the numerous shanty towns.

THE CHURCH

Islamic activities, typical of the activities of every church, enables the proletariat in the towns and in the countryside to be kept absolutely dependent on Capitalism.

The Islamic 'Church' is Turkey's wealthiest landlord (every landed person, before they die.. bequeath part of their wealth in order to guarantee admission to paradise!) It also enjoys tremendous power through the mosques where it preaches fanaticism and prepares to do battle against the Christian West.

At the present time, Islam's major efforts are directed against the secular schools which turn out "pagan dogs" and it apes the moves of Iran and the Iranian mullahs.

THE LEFT.

Bulent Ecevit's People's Republican Party

This party boasts of being the heir to Ataturk (the founder of Turkish unity. Having ejected Britain, France, Greece and Italy, Ataturk installed a European-style secular republic). It alternates with the right in power between army coups. It relies for its support upon the petit bourgeoisie among the peasantry and upon reformist elements in the administration. And enjoys the backing of a not inconsiderable section of the army.

It is very closely connected with social democrats in W. Germany and France and it represents the more progressive sectors of Turkish capitalism.

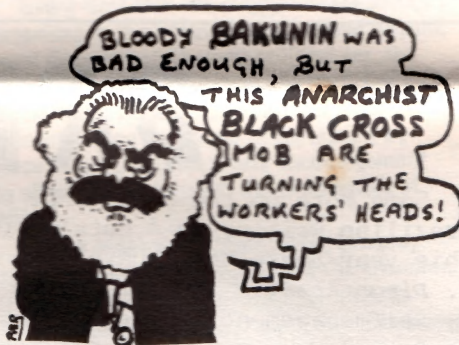
The Turkish Workers' Party

Alternatively legal or illegal, depending on who is in power, this is in fact the Turkish Communist Party (use of the word communist is for bidden in Turkey)!

Split into a variety of tendencies (pro-Chinese, pro-Russian, pro-Albanian) its influence is among industrialised workers through the trade union group, Disk. Nevertheless, it has a foot only in the secular camp, since communism is anathema to the followers of Islam.

The Worker's Trade Union, DISK

Alternatively legal or illegal according to the party in power, even if the regime is 'leftist', DISK is an important influence in every industrial centre (Istanbul, Izmir, Mersin, Izmit, Adana, Iskenderun). Largely under the influence of the Turkish CP, it embraces the class conscious segments of the Turkish proletariat.



The "TOBDEERS" (Teachers co-operatives).

These group Turkey's progressive teachers and have taken this title because teachers' unions are not permitted under the law.

The prevalent influence is that of the People's Republican Party: the TOBDEER groups claim to be revolutionary and to want "socialism". They are constant targets for fascist-Islamic attacks.

They have the ear of the peasantry and in the educational field are roughly equivalent to the layschools under the Third Republic in France . . . ("revolution through education" . . . 'education builds up the strength of the country' . . . 'education will put an end to the domination of international capitalism').

Female teachers are beginning to speak up, but as yet timidly.



'2nd June Movement' prisoners Ronald Frittsch (centre) & Ralf Reinders offer a lolly to the bourgeois press at their trial in Berlin last year (on the left is Gerald Klopfer). Since 2nd February they have been taking part in the mass hunger strikes of political prisoners in West German & Swiss gaols (see P.8). Together with Andreas Vogel & Till Meyer they have been subjected to forced-feeding in Berlin since 3rd March. Another '2nd June Movement' prisoner, Gabriele Rollnick, is reported to be close to death after seven weeks of hunger-striking.

THE FAR LEFT:

Very important inside DISK, the Tobders and the Turkish CP., the far left acknowledges allegiance to Marxist-Leninism or Maoism; isolated in the world of labour, its strength is to be found in the universities and among teachers.

Presently, it has undertaken "... a long march towards factory and field", deserting the faculty buildings for the rural areas.

— AND THE ANARCHISTS?

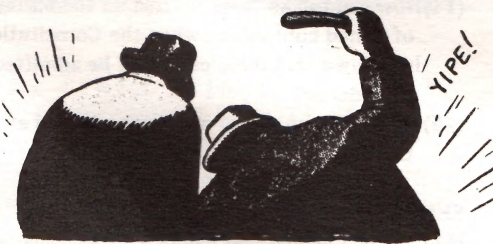
They are to be found inside DISK and in the Tobders; but their activity is highly secretive. Very few groups will admit openly to allegiance to libertarianism.

Apparently the theoretical strength of the movement can be traced to Turkish migrant workers in France and Germany; this is true also of the Maoists.

Every assassination or terrorist outrage is laid at the door of "anarchists", whether perpetrated by left or right. This is the policy of every party in government.

Anarchists have significant influence in Istanbul and Ankara, although there are scattered groups all over Turkey. When Salvador Puig Antich was garroted in Franco's Spain, the Spanish Embassy in Ankara was completely cut off from the outside world. Workers in the relevant services cut off its gas, electricity and water supplies and large demonstrations took place to protest Puig Antich's execution.

It is the marxist-leninists who are most relentless in denouncing the whereabouts of anarchist activities.



THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION

On account of its geographical location, Turkey plays an important role in the strategic balance in the world. It shares with Norway and Finland the fact that it is the only non-communist nation in Europe to have a border with the USSR: Turkey is also the only country from which it is possible for the West to control Russian fleet activities in the Mediterranean. In fact, the Russian, Bulgarian and Rumanian fleets must pass through the Dardanelles on their way from the Black Sea.

Turkey is likewise the only country from whose soil it is possible by means of listening stations to keep surveillance on Turkmenistan and the Ukraine and on the Soviet military bases there.

Faced with a growing Americanisation of their society, the Turkish people often finds itself in utterly bewildering situations. An example: FORD and RENAULT have taken the motorisation of the country in hand. Garages are being erected in desert zones where there are no vehicles to repair and less people to buy any (the only cars on sale are Renault 12 and Ford trucks at twice the price for which they sell in the rest of Europe). In the villages automobile accidents claim many lives but there are no doctors and even less hospitals (the nearest one often being 250 kilometres away), so people are left to die by the roadside.

Turkey is a country where there are huge contrasts between town and country and a maddening gulf between real investment and pauperism. She stands in need of a social class sufficiently aware to struggle simultaneously against homegrown and international capitalism.

"From the torture cells of Turkey": Personal accounts, photographs & official documents on Turkish state terrorism. Published by Action Committee Against the Tortures in Turkey, c/o First of May Bookshop, Candle-maker Row, Edinburgh EH1 2QP 50p inc.post.



URUGUAY 1

Life in Montevideo today, as described by Uruguayan exile author Eduardo Galeano. (in Le Monde):

Expenditure on repression consumes 1/2 of the national budget. 1 in 4 of the population is a soldier, spy or policeman. 1 in every 70 Uruguayans has experienced kidnapping as the victim. Real wages have fallen by 1/2 over the past 7 years. Payment of union dues can lead to a 6 year prison term for 'Incitement to delinquency'. The official minimum wage is 110 dollars. A recent survey of 8 quarters of Montevideo, residential areas of the middle and upper middle classes found that 3 out of 10 families had an income less than the minimum wage. Students at school are forbidden to fraternize with teachers outside class hours. Students entering University sign an undertaking to denounce any colleague engaging in activities "alien to their studies. In the libraries magazines published prior to the coup are not available for consultation. 1 in 6 Uruguayans is in exile. Montevideo's population has 2 1/2 times as many old people as Rio de Janeiro or Caracas.....the young who can manage it, live abroad.

SCALA TRIAL

(December 1980)

The Crime..... On 15 January 1978 the Scala nightclub in Barcelona was attacked with molotov cocktails. 4 employees died when the club was burned to the ground. The attack came just after a successful mass CNT demonstration against the Moncloa Pact (Spain's Social Contract). The police made great play of this fact and arrests were made among CNT members.

The accused..... Jose Cuevas, Francisco Javier Canadas, Arturo Palma, Luis Munoz, Maria del Pilar Alvarez, Maria Lopez.

The trial opened with the prosecution demanding sentences of 80 years each against Cuevas, Canadas and Palma, 39 years against Munoz and 19 years against Lopez, with a lesser penalty against Alvarez.

The trial opened on 1 December. The first days proceedings were largely consumed with attempts by the defence to have the trial dropped due to the absence of the sinister Joaquin Gambin, who was, the CNT insists the provocateur and real author of the Scala attack. Curiously enough, the police seem to be the only people in Spain who cannot locate the elusive Gambin against whom a warrant was issued. CNT general secretary Jose Bondia in a press conference on 28 November disclosed that Gambin had spent the previous night at his parents home at No. 96 Caserio de los Dulces, in Rincon de la Seca, Murcia, and that Gambin had been seen driving a beige Seat 124 with Madrid licence plates 790,223. At no time in the days that followed did police attempt to follow up this information.

Also on the first day, the court heard allegations that confessions had been extracted from the accused by torture. This coincided with release of Amnesty International's findings that torture is still rife in Spain. Also, Maite Fabres who was arrested in connection with the Scala outrage and against whom all charges were later dropped, also signed a confession while in police custody....a confession that police later chose to disregard.

Other curiosities about this case:

- (1) How were the police able to trace the attacks in under 12 hours?
- (2) How come there were no architectural reasons why the Scala club should have collapsed after the fire?
- (3) If the Scala finances were (as alleged) so healthy why had the owners asked for a suspension of their duty to make social security payments on behalf of their staff?
- (4) Just prior to the attack an outside broadcast TV van waited outside the Scala to televise a cabaret. Why was it removed just before the attack?
- (5) Why was demolition of the Scala allowed before a proper forensic examination of the ruins could be made?
- (6) Why did the Insurance companies pay out to the Scala's owners when in Spain they do not compensate victims of terrorist attacks?
- (7) How come within 26 hours of the attack the Scala's owners tore up the contracts of their 200 employees and have failed to re-employ even one when they have opened several new nightclubs?
- (8) Opposite the Scala was a newspaper kiosk whose owner saw the attack. He was murdered whilst the accused were in police custody.
- (9) What became of the monies collected in several accounts towards a public subscription for the rebuilding of the Scala? This was before the Scala's insurers paid up.
- (10) An amateur photographer recorded the fire. Within days his negatives and copies had been acquired by persons unknown. These photographs could prove the innocence of the accused.

The Anarchist Black Cross is raising support for the Scala prisoners any help can be forwarded to Black Flag.

As the trial continued, eyewitnesses to the attack were heard. Maso, the manager of the Scala denied that the accused were the people he saw throw molotov cocktails. Miguel Manzana head barman at the Scala did likewise. Francisco Garcia Torres said that the attackers "were not hippies. They looked like they came from wealthy families." Evidence from an eyewitness, a retired Captain of the Guardia Civil (since deceased) stated that the attackers had short hair.

On 4 December, the Prosecutor reduced the terms he was demanding from 309½ years to 66½ years. Alvarez and Lopez were freed. Munoz was eligible for parole. Against Cuevas the prosecution was now asking 21 years, 21 for Canadas and 20 for Palma.

The prosecution's case was that the bombing of the Scala was Canadas's idea...in a fit of pique at the CNT demonstration having gone off peacefully. He and Cuevas and Palma and Munoz and "persons unknown" threw one molotov each.

Against this the defence insisted on the role of Gambin. He had manufactured, stored, used the molotovs. He alone had escaped arrest saying ".....I'm off. Things are a bit too hot for me around here." One man could have shed light on Gambin's movements on that day....CNT personality Luis Andres Edo. But of course Edo is in jail in connection with an obvious frame-up designed to silence him and protect the "elusive" Gambin.

The prosecution denied charges of a police frame-up and provocation designed to discredit the CNT. He even stated: "The CNT is not on trial here". Odd when a cabinet Minister and the TV in Spain had denounced the 'hand of the CNT in the Scala attack'. The prosecutor did concede that police may have discovered the authorship of the attack "through an informer" (Gambin?) and stressed that Barcelona police (he emphasized Barcelona) had engineered no frame-up.

- (11) Why was Maite Fabres held in custody for 2½ years and then released because of "insufficient evidence" when she had signed a confession?
- (12) How does one explain Gambin's strange immunity from arrest?
- (13) Why was it so hard to find a judge to hear the case?
- (14) How can the accused be tried on the basis of signed confessions when the Constitution lays down that these can never be admitted as evidence?
- (15) How come no police witnesses testified at the trial?

SENTENCES:

- (1) Cuevas, Canadas and Palma - 17 years each.



José Cuevas - Javier Cañadas - Arturo Palma

- (2) Released - Luis Munoz, Maria Lopez and Maria Alvarez. They had already served the terms asked against them!

The (5th Congress Sector) of the CNT's National Committee has stated:

"These sentences confirm which the CNT's belief has always been... that the bourgeois courts are only one of the instruments of capital and authority. By sentencing these innocent men as it has the court continues to shield those who bear the true guilt in the Scala case. We have seen confirmed our contention that Gambin was acting on instructions from the upper echelons of State Security."

ESPIRITU SANTO

The ferocity with which the rebellion in the South-Pacific New Hebridean islands was put down is a pointer that it was, after all, a genuine attempt to establish a freer society. The new regime of Father Walter Lini has been imposed upon the people by military force, with both England and France playing apparently diversive roles. The fact that Americans (but not "the Americans") attempted to help the revolt has not in the least affected the fact that since Father Lini has established his Statist regime, French-speaking Melanesians have been arrested by the thousand, including some not involved in the revolt of Espiritu Santo.

There has been violence and ill treatment and huge sentences have been imposed on Jimmy Stevens and others. Lini, an Anglican priest, won victory when the islands were granted "independence": whether the elections were rigged or not, many islands did not accept it and took action. They tried to establish a libertarian system which, while not anarchist, was not precisely Statist

either. After a moment of storming the heavens, they are now all in jail, or dead. And they are, defeated, no longer "news".

Pressure by groups and individuals may be effective in the case of a new State such as Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides). Try sending protest letters to Father Walter Lini, Prime Minister, Port Vila, Efrate, Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides).

FRANCE

Gerard Coulon, teacher, has been banned from teaching for 6 months and spent 17 days in prison. His crime? He tried to help one of the problem children at the 'Le Cap' centre where he works. Gerard had already come into conflict with the centre's new head, a real martinet, and was suspended. Then one of the boys decided to escape. Gerard took him in, and gave him sympathetic addresses in Paris. Two others followed. 2 days later, the police arrived. The authorities tried their best to inflate the whole affair. There were inuendos about runaways, distress to parents and child prostitution. Gerard was depicted as the local representative of a heinous network of the "anarchist federation". In fact Gerard was made the victim of a French Berufsverbot.

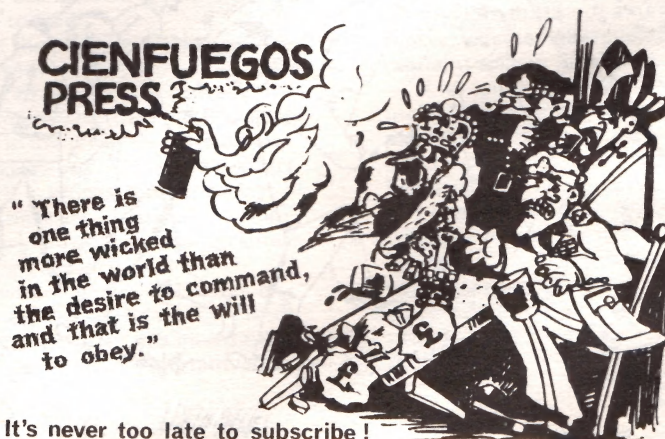
BRAZIL

Some more on the resurgence of libertarianism in Brazil. A Brazilian writing in A Batalha (Lisbon), of November 1980 mentions: This year these books have been published in Brazil.

1. Diego Abad de Santillán 'The economic Organism of the Revolution-Selfmanagement in the Spanish Revolution.'
2. Daniel Guérin, 'The Sexual Revolution'.
3. 'The Cecilia Colony'.
4. Edgar Rodrigues, 'Anarchism, an alphabetical outline'.
5. Sheldon Leslie Maram, 'Anarchists, Immigrants and the Brazilian Labour Movement, 1890-1920.'
6. Paulo Sergio Pinheiro and Michael Hall 'The Working Class in Brazil' (Volume One).
7. Edgard Carone 'The Labour Movement in Brazil 1877-1944.'
8. 'Bakunin - Libertarian Socialism' (a collection of articles from L'Egalité, 1869).
9. Caio Tulio Costa 'What is Anarchism?'
10. 'Anarchists, Thank God' (memoirs of Zelia Gattai, one of the founders of the Cecilia Colony).

The bimonthly paper 'O Inimigo do Rei' sells 4,000 copies. It is edited from Salvador (Bahia) but produced and distributed by libertarians from Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Pro-libertarian films recently showing in Brazil were Lauro Escorel's 'The Libertarian' and Claudio Khans's 'The Dream Never Dies'.

Have you seen the writing on the wall



It's never too late to subscribe!

URUGUAY: — Tendencia Combativa (Fighting Tendency)

The name will sound a little strange to those unfamiliar with the vagaries of the Uruguayan labour movement. The Tendencia Combativa is a coalition of Revolutionary militants of diverse ideological sympathies and within the National Labour Convention (CNT). Their efforts are largely aimed at reactivating the CNT as the organisation that will embrace all Uruguayan workers. The CNT harbours a variety of tendencies. The T.C. stands for an outlook sympathetic to a direct action trade unionism free of party interference. (*The CNT should not be confused with that — those — of Spain*).

Before one can appreciate the value of the political experience represented by the Tendencia Combativa one has to review, briefly, the history of the Uruguayan labour movement.

In terms of its organisational political structures, one can discern two distinct phases in the history of the labour movement in Uruguay.

The first phase begins around 1885 with the birth of the first trade unions, inspired basically by immigrant workers and political refugees from Europe. Their ideological loyalties were unmistakably anarchist. Later a Labour Confederation, the FORU (Uruguayan Regional Labour Federation) was set up along the lines of the First International. Up to 1930, it was the largest in Uruguay. It vanished entirely sometime around 1950.

From 1925 onwards the influence began to be felt of sectors ideologically ascribable to marxism, anarcho-syndicalists in dispute with FORU and non-aligned groups. All of these set up the USU (Uruguayan Trade Union Unity). Up until 1940, this USU was the most important labour grouping.

In 1941 the UGT (General Workers' Union) was formed; this rapidly fell under the sway of the Communist Party. From 1950 onwards, the UGT began to lose importance.

Such were the principal landmarks of the first phase of our labour history. The underlying characteristic of this period was the foundation of large labour groupings under the sway of specific ideologies or parties.

Aside from the mistakes made, during this early phase, the Uruguayan workers had impressed upon them a lively class consciousness which persists to this very day.

Up to the 1930s, the central concern was that the class should enjoy autonomy in the struggle for revolution.

In the 1940s the hegemony which the Communist Party had acquired over the leadership of the largest union groups meant that, at times, the union's policy was dictated by the Communist Party. During the period of the world war, the party and the union leadership championed the case of an alliance across class barriers. This failed to percolate down to the rank and file membership, most of whom clung to a class position.



It is to that position that the Tendencia Combativa looks for its roots i.e. to the class tradition of the labour movement in Uruguay. The second phase of the history of the Uruguayan labour movement opened in the 1950s.

In 1950, the independent unions were strong and had a majority. They led struggles from which the UGT held aloof.

Around this time Uruguay witnessed the passage of the first security measures and emergency powers (state of siege) this century. Workers were liable to arrest and dismissal. The struggles, successful and unsuccessful in which workers and students participated massively, led to a rapprochement between militants and the whole of the left (outside the CP) which participated in the mobilisations. The left came together into what were known as the *Gremios Solidarios* (Solidarity Unions).

Almost unanimously, the Cuban revolution was backed by those who encouraged the struggles of the *Gremios Solidarios*. The Cuban revolution then became a common denominator and the hope of revolutionary change.

Every time that the struggle of the workers organised in their trade unions moved beyond wage demands and turned political (eg. the struggle of the *Gremios Solidarios* in 1951), it was repressed and crushed. The possibility of confronting the forces of repression by force of arms became a new encouragement to all who lived through the experiences of 1951.

At the beginning of the 1960s, Uruguay was racked by a deterioration of the economic crisis and a worsening of living conditions for the workers. It became vital that a response be devised to this situation.

The creation of a labour movement upon new foundations was the subject of much debate. The initial suggestions of segments of the Communist Party drew a response

from the leftist segments who sponsored a series of reunions of trade union militants from a variety of persuasions.

There was a division between those who, taking into consideration the reformist practices of the CP in the trade union arena, and the policies of the Latin American CPs (condemned by the OLAS in 1967) placed the CP outside the popular camp, and with those who placed it still within.

Behind the camouflage of pluralist discussion, the CP was aiming to recreate the organisational structures that would ensure that the party would enjoy hegemony in the new union grouping.

Through the debates which arose concerning the foundation of the CNT in 1964, the basis was laid for the political and organizational foundations of the "*Tendencia Sindical Combativa*".

The TC seeks to confront, within the mass organisations, the diverse conceptions and view points a propos of the line which the labour movement should follow if it is to advance the revolutionary process. This debate should ensure full and meaningful worker's democracy.

Furthermore it argues the advisability of a stable coordination between those sectors which are agreed on the need for a policy and a methodology which will not subordinate the role of the organised labour movement to the expectations vested in a legal, parliamentary party.

Acting upon this decision, at the very time when the trade union movement was racked by a heated debate on the subject of constitutional reform, in October 1966, a meeting was held which was attended by representatives of the FAU (Uruguayan Anarchist Federation), MRO (Revolutionary Movement of the East), MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), PS (Socialist Party) and the GAU (Unity of Action Groups).

This meeting can be taken as the earliest forerunner of what subsequently developed into the Tendencia Combativa in the course of struggle.

The first steps began to be made towards an appreciation of the necessity of engaging in joint activity at a variety of levels. Stress was laid on the notion of mass action as an integral part of an overall strategy which comprised, simultaneously: ideological struggle, violent action and an attempt to formulate broad political proposals.

In mid-1968 the passage of the Emergency Security Measures (the State of Siege) and the attempt to control the unions clearly demonstrated the nature of the reactionary offensive which was underway in Uruguay and the move towards a real "constitutional dictatorship".

From within the CNT, the TC put forward a plan which would enable the popular and labour movement to confront the inevitable head-on clashes to come...(clashes which could

not be resolved through the ballot box)...and to confront them in such a way as to achieve a strengthening which would arm the movement. Similarly, the TC proposed that the popular movement should prepare to take on the enemy who was preparing repressive measures and to utilise the mystifying capacities of the democratic bourgeois institutions, increasingly discredited in the eyes of the people.

After June 1968, the TC encouraged mobilisations aimed at arming the resistance it fought against the the freeze on wages and the repression: it developed an active solidarity with combattant trade unions, invited growing participation by the student movement along side the workers and urged the formation of more and more regroupments of militants of various political (and independent) persuasions.all with a view to preparing the emergence of a mass Tendencia Combativa.

For the TC 1972 was a very difficult year because of the repression which battered brutally upon it, because of the political confusions of some of its most important groups, and because of the attempts of reformists to isolate TC, politically and facilitate the annihilation of its most important sectors. But 1972 was also a year of heroic struggles pursued in defence of prisoners, against repression, torture and on behalf of trade union and public liberties.

The military coup of 1973 marked the culmination of the first stage of the long process by which a dictatorship was installed with a view to applying the the policy of capitalist readjustment, by replacing the country's corrupt and ineffective bourgeois political elite by military cadres drawn from the armed forces. Consistent with what it had been preaching, and interpreting the feelings of the masses and amid the hesitancy of the majority within the CNT the members of TC became the firmest support of the general strike which the working class kept up for 15 long days.

Out of the participation of the TC in those days of struggle came a document signed by the unions of FUNSA(the Rubber industry), FOEB (the Federation of Brewery workers) and FUS (the Federation of Health Workers), in which they urged resistance in the name of the Tendencia Combativa.

Today, the TC has an organised presence among Uruguayan exiles. There it has sponsored several meetings at international level and in several countries has permanent liaison secretariats functioning. Contact is maintained with the Uruguayan interior where our comrades operate, legally or clandestinely, to encourage, within the trade union and the popular camp, all resistance to the dictatorship with full participation of the rank and file.

A group of TC militants in Paris.

SPAIN



CNT premises in Valladolid were destroyed in an attack claimed by a Rightwing extremist group. Now, in Málaga, the premises of "Andalucia Libertaria" (organ of the Andalucian CNT.) have been firebombed and the presses damaged, possibly beyond repair. This could be a severe blow to the CNT in the region because the payments on the machinery have not yet been completed.

Australia

CANBERRA — Australian Aborigines might have the highest rate of imprisonment in the world, the director of the Australian Institute of Criminal Justice, Mr William Clifford, said last week.

He estimated that between 500 and 1000 Aborigines per 100,000 were in jail. The imprisonment rate for Australia generally was 67 per 100,000.

It was also higher than the general rate for countries such as Holland (20 per 100,000), Hong Kong (109) and Fiji (218).

POVERTY AND DISSENT IN SOCIALIST HUNGARY

In socialist Hungary there is no poverty, and that's official. Sociologists (like Istvan Kemeny) who have found to the contrary have found themselves denied access to the press and had their researches halted and confiscated. Leaving thousands still poor, mostly seasonal workers, mostly gypsies. An unofficial body was set up to help them. . . the Help the Poor Fund, or SZETA. How was it to raise funds? Voluntary subscriptions were opened. Then others began to mix good good works with dissent. On 11 December last, Hungary saw it's first uncensored, unofficial art exhibition. Exhibits were sold to raise funds for SZETA. At last it came . . . SZETA was fined 3000 forints for "... abuse of the right of assembly". Whereupon its list of subscribers became a petition against repression of the right of free expression. Eventually the authorities compromised. Future fundraising will not be organised in SZETA's name (Help the Poor. . . what poor?) but by the Artists, or Writers as individuals. In return, premises will be made available by the CP or Popular Patriotic Front. No prior censorship and freedom of sale is assured. Hungary has no 'Solidarity' and no 'Kor', but SZETA has begun to expose the gulf between the pretence and the reality. (Source: Miklos Haraszti, writing in *Liberation*, Paris).

RIO TINTO ZTINKS!

It looks like RTZ will, once again, escape public scrutiny for its nefarious deeds. Eight years ago, RTZ and its subsidiaries (together with the South African and French governments, later Canadian, and Australian) set up a uranium market ing cartel, to strengthen its hold on the market and (probably) help get investment for the Rossing mine. As a result of the five-fold increase in uranium prices, Westinghouse — the huge US manufacturer of reactors — failed to meet billions of dollars worth of contracts to supply uranium. Westinghouse used RTZ, and about 30 other uranium producers (including CRA and Rio Algom). The US Supreme Court ordered RTZ to produce documents about the operation of the cartel. The whole affair was going to be aired in Chicago later this year. But in 1980 — with virtually no opposition whatever — the British government passed the Protection of Trading Interests Act, whose

main immediate effect is to protect RTZ from US court action. (It actually enables RTZ to seize Westinghouse's assets in Britain if the case goes against the British company!) Even so, *others* could have produced documents about the case and a crucial aspect of the nuclear conspiracy might have reached public attention. But now, Westinghouse is negotiating out-of-court settlements with RTZ. It looks like the Chicago case won't be heard after all. . .

WEEK OF ACTION (May 4 - 11) against Rio Tinto Zinc & Subsidiaries. For details

PARTIZANS, 218 Liverpool Rd. London N1 01-609-1852.



Towards a 'People's Militia' stinks, anarchists accepting 'national service in Europe to gain knowledge of arms stinks and the apparent justification of violent/armed resistance vis a vie the 'Angry Brigade' stinks.

How do people such as the Angry Brigade supporters and The militia/militarist orientated factions call themselves 'anarchists'? And become the prominent 'vanguard' of anrchist thinking and 'organisations'. The people's Militia would just be another set of bigots with their rifle sites on me.

Let us bury the myth that anarchy and armed violence go hand in hand, that it means 'disorder'. For it does not, it means a liberation of mind and society and not the enslavement of people by arms into another 'systemised' bigotry; we seek an alternative to state disorder, one of natural order and natural order cannot exist in conjunction with arms.

Arms are the physical manifestation of bigotry, sexism and oppression. Whoever's hands they are in even if everyone's they are there protect property and self-interest at the least and at worst to oppress others and we stand for neither, anarchy peace and freedom is what I want.

I don't want anything to do with the People's Militia, the IRSP or ETA. Anarchy & Violence are opposites only when we remove arms do we liberate ourselves. Prove your credibility; throw away your leftist slogans your "working class credibility!"

'Left wing violence, right wing violence, anarchist violence. All seems much the same. Bully Boys out fighting. Its just the same old game.

It's time we recognised that the Red Army Faction, Angry Brigade etc. and now ever the People's Militia are all the same bully boys. Anarchy peace and freedom must prevail.

Perhaps an article on Crass the anarchist band would create a widespread new debate and act as new lefeblood in anarchist thinking and rid us of this sterile thinking of militia/militarism.

Your comment would be welcome.
Anok Chester, K. Piper, Chester.

THE DEFENCE ISSUE

Many of you may have heard that we spend around £1.25 millions on defence an hour, this figure appals me, its outrageous, an insult even. The figure should be doubled and trebled immediately. Our great nation needs to be armed to the teeth to survive, the list of enemies is endless, internal as well as external. We need to arm every city with dozens of nuclear warheads which can double up as toilets when not in use. We need to double our stocks of poison gas, nerve gas and deoderant (for under-arm protection). Bring back National Service, every man from the age of 12 to 70 should be taught how to march properly and how to accept intimidation from superiors. The women of this nation ought to be sent back to the kitchen where they belong, and if they complain let their husbands whip them soundly. Men with long hair, short hair and multi-coloured hair should be sent to prison until they go bald or grey (distinguished grey hair is acceptable). Children should be seen and not heard, to this end they will have their tongues removed, this means they cannot answer back either, another bonus. Bring back hanging for blacks, queers and weirdo anarchists. The unemployed will be called up to do National Service, to perform useful tasks, like shooting the Irish. We most cleanse the nation in readiness to do battle.

We must prepare to take to our shelters and to nuke the Ruskies. Of course the namby pamby reds will say that this means we will wipe out our own populace, but who cares? This country no longer needs the working class, they're nothing but trouble, always on strike, asking for more money (anyone would think they weren't satisfied with being exploited). No, this country would be better off without its population.

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Solely in the belief that it is a lesser personal disaster most young males in Europe (including total pacifists) pay the blood tax (one or two years servitude) It would be less than honest for any to pretend (some do) they do so for the training they receive which is a couple of weeks and could be less.

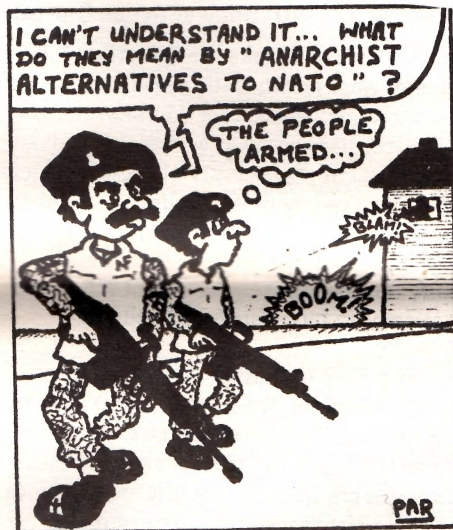
For the rest these tired old arguments and abuse have often been answered; but as they are the stock-in-trade of a dissenting tendency also labelling itself, against all reason "anarchist" we shall once more reply.

"Angry Brigade supporters"; or opponents of State authority and believers in non-State socialism, are clearly anarchists; and as such must reject "vanguards" which come from a Marxist conception. A citizens militia would be of the whole people, not a "set", whether bigoted or broadminded. It does not exist. If it did, it could not be compared with clandestine groups which act, in effect, as a rearguard any more than a collectivised industry could be compared with a strike action committee.

Let us do away with the myth that anarchists are "violent" because they disagree with an entirely theoretical idea of "non-violence" put forward by a cult trying to "liberalise" revolutionary ideas. A citizens' militia is no way similar to national army using nuclear weapons, but a direct alternative. It is the height of fatuity to say that someone who, like Hilda Monte, tried to throw a bomb at Hitler, is by that fact on a par with Hitler; or that Dora Kaplan, who tried to do the same with Lenin, is by that fact on a par with Lenin.

Noted anarchists and revolutionaries such as Emma Goldman Louise Michel, Maria Spiridonova were not "bully boys" because they actively opposed tyranny. Those who accept meekly the fact of "bully boys" and think nothing should be done about (say) the National Front for fear of being thought "violent" are the other face of fascism (which needs only a few jackboots but many sheep)

We had an article/interview with Crass a few issues ago. With respect to them, it did not set the Thames on fire. Their attitude seems to be conditioned by the mindless violence they have encountered, against which they postulate a sweeping "non-violence" rather than a rational attitude.



Some of those anarchist troublemakers have been proposing a citizens militia, a preposterous idea! What will happen to us — the established leaders? And anyway we can't trust the people with guns, they might get carried away and turn against us.

The answer to the defence question is to shut down the welfare state and use all the money to buy weapons to kill people with. Hospitals make the population weak, no wonder this country's going down hill. Only the strong must survive, shoot the sick, put them out of their misery. Increase defence spending now!

General Vaig
NORTH LONDON

NAMIBIAN WOMAN JAILED

The fascist regime of South Africa has intensified their systematic crack-down on any attempts at opposition. One of the latest victims is Ida Jemmy who was arrested on October 9th 1980, at the time she was seven months pregnant.

She was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment by an illegal court set up by the apartheid regime for addressing a SWAPO meeting.

Many Namibian women are subjected to a double oppress-ion: as black Namibians and as women. They see their struggle in terms of national liberation of Southern Africa and the liberation of African women.

HUNGERSTRIKE DECLARATION - RED ARMY FRACTION 6.2.81

WE DEMAND:

The minimal guarantees of the Geneva Convention¹ be applied to the prisoners of the RAF & other anti-imperialist resistance groups; that is to say:

-THAT THOSE PRISONERS BE ABLE TO ASSOCIATE UNDER CONDITIONS THAT MAKE INTERACTION POSSIBLE; THIS MEANS THE ABOLITION OF THE CONTROL OF ALL COMMUNICATIONS ELECTRONICALLY, ACOUSTICALLY & OPTICALLY WHICH TAKES PLACE WITHIN UNITS OF ISOLATION THAT ARE SOUND/LIGHT /AIR CONDITIONED².

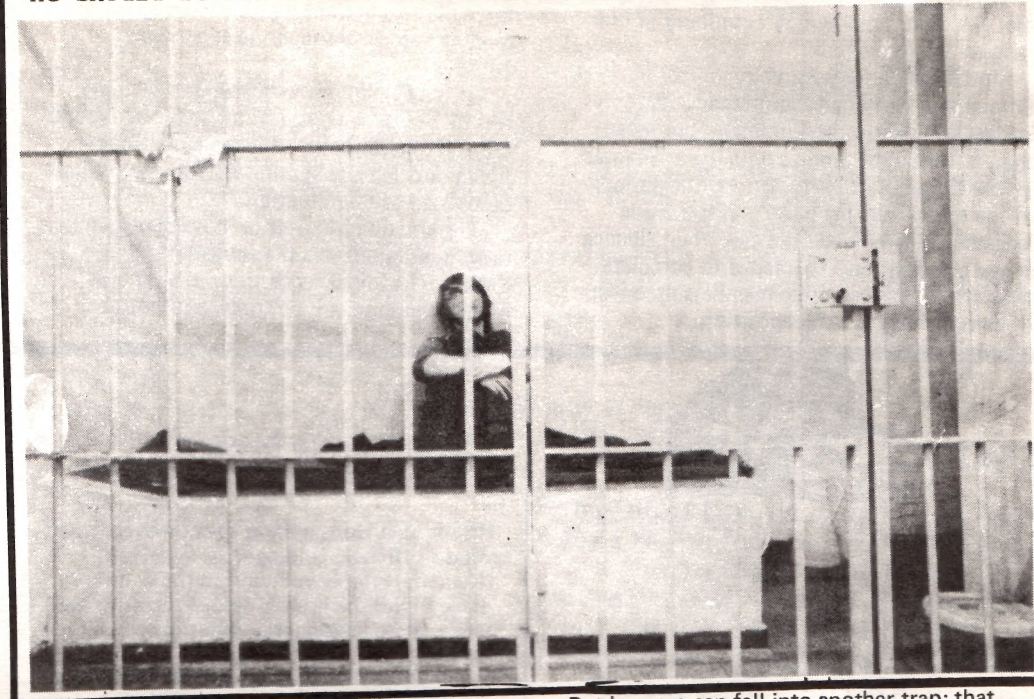
-THAT CONDITIONS OF IMPRISONMENT ARE INDEPENDENTLY CONTROLLED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE PROTECTION OF PRISONERS & AGAINST CONDITIONS OF ISOLATION.

-THAT GUNTHER SONNENBURG BE RELEASED AS HIS PHYSICAL RECOVERY FROM BRAIN DAMAGE CANNOT TAKE PLACE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF ISOLATION IMPRISONMENT³.

1. ARTICLE 75 of the Geneva Convention of 1949 lays down the fundamental guarantees to be accorded to "PERSONS WHO ARE IN THE POWER OF A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT" - that is to say Prisoner Of War status. The 1949 Convention relates to prisoners who are captured as a result of an international conflict. The additional Protocols of 1977 cover armed conflicts which are not of an inter-national character. This means that combatants of the anti-imperialist resistance movements of national liberation struggles & urban guerrilla warfare being waged in the third world & the metropolitan countries should also be accorded such political status.

2. The West German State applies special programmes of imprisonment only against those prisoners who come from militant anti-imperialist resistance groups. These prisoners are subjected to isolation torture in the silent cells of the new "High Security Wings" - many for over 4 years. With no association periods at all, some with absolutely no exercise period either. The isolation cells are air conditioned, soundproofed, white-walled & constantly lit. Surveillance of the prisoners is total. Cameras & microphones are stationed in each cell, on each wing, and around exercise yards. If prisoners do have association it is behind a partition window of bullet-proof glass. Visits are for 1 hour per month in similar conditions if permitted at all. Strip searches take place for prisoners & visitors before & after any visit or association. The State has acknowledged the political content of their struggle by the methods it employs to try to crush it.

3. Gunther Sonnenberg was arrested in 1977 & during the arrest was shot in the head. He sustained brain damage & has been in isolation ever since. He does not get the medical treatment he needs to make a recovery. Since he is not fit to stay in prison he should be released immediately.



Albert Meltzer's article illuminates an area of thought I have been wrestling with for some time: attitude to work.

The root of the problem is that capitalism equates work with money, and judges people on the amount of money they earn (or have).

Yet for many people, the most important work they do in life is not done for money. Ask any housewife and mother. Ask Albert Meltzer himself — articles for Black Flag don't write themselves. Or ask all the Hon. Secs. and Treasurers of little local societies up and down the country.

The work we are paid to do is often an irritating interruption of the work we want to do — however necessary as a means of financing that other more important work.

But here we can fall into another trap; that of despising our paid work because it is part of the system that exploits us.

If we could only get away from the work= money equation, we could think more clearly. Work is good if we enjoy it, if it helps people directly, if it is necessary or useful; no matter how much or how little we are paid for it.

How we work is a question of personal ethics: if we do a good job for our own satisfaction, this is not a surrender to the enemy; whether we are rewarded for it by the capitalist society or not.

If we can do a job we enjoy, which is useful to people (rather than just to 'society') and get paid for it, we are lucky. If we can avoid supporting parasites by it, we are luckier still.

I once had an argument with an anarchist who said that moonlighting was undercutting, taking bread out of the mouths of paid employees. I can't see the logic of this: it's not undercutting the rate the workman gets, only the profit the employer makes. Has anyone else any views on this?

Sheila Blanchard

Meglomania

asSASSins named:

The inquest into the recent Iranian Embassy siege returned the rare verdict of "Justifiable Homicide". Dr Paul Knapman the Coroner reminded the jury of the "implications to this country if a verdict of unlawful killing were to be reached" against the SAS. . . the Iranian hostages claimed that the "terrorists" threw down their arms and were shot after surrendering, BUT the SAS claimed that all five were killed in a running battle. Before the trial, Dr Knapman attempted to prevent the BBC televising a recording of the SAS attack on the grounds that it might prejudice the jury. He also queried whether it was "particularly important how far away the muzzle was" and suggested that "not too much must be made of the actual minute details" such as forensic evidence concerning the ranges at which the fatal wounds were inflicted. The jury were instructed because of language problems to disregard an Iranian hostage's graphic account of how the terrorist 'Shaj' was shot by an SAS man who held him with his other hand. The public were excluded and reporters warned not to attempt to describe the two SAS soldiers who were smuggled in and out of the courtroom.

OPERATION NIMROD

Those responsible but publicity shy were: Brigadier Peter Edgar de la Cour de la Billiere is a Director of the Special Air Group; Lieutenant Colonel M J Wilkes was the 22nd SAS regimental commanding officer who instructed Major Jeremy Phipps lead the Pagoda One unit into the Iranian Embassy which resulted in the death of the five "terrorists".

Brig. Billiere Director of the SAS since 1979 (previous commands include a highly secretive support operation aiding guerrillas trying to overthrow the Ethiopian regime), has his offices in the centre block of the Duke of York HQ near Kings Road and from here commands three regiments and several independent squadrons. The regular 22nd Regiment of SAS is based at Bradbury Lines in Hereford (soon to be renamed Sterling Lines after the regiments founder) which is currently being rebuilt for the expanding regiment.

22nd SAS consists of 4 Sabre squadrons, A, B, D, and G — the Guard Squadron — with support units. Each squadron has 72 men organised into 4 troops. Only 20% of would be recruits pass the selection tests, 4 fatalities in the last two years. There are 4 anti-terrorist Pagoda units always ready for action upon the command from the COBRA unit of the Government Civil Contingency Committee.

NEAVE

Thatcher's Right hand man was killed by a car-bomb planted at the House of Commons. Before the 1979 Election this Tory MP discussed plans for an undercover 'Army of Resistance' in case of a Labour victory and preparations for the possibility of violent action if — in the event of James Callaghan retiring — Tony Benn became Prime Minister. Considering that Neave's former Command of the Intelligence School 9 Unit became the 23 SAS (V), the 'Army of Resistance' he proposed may still exist among M15 and the Metropolitan Police and Army regiments whose Commanders still share stark anti-communist views. The Spanish Right-wing can storm Parliament when they feel too much erosion of their authority is looming — and the liaison between the British and Spanish Political police is well known — so why not British Right?

SPREAD 'EM

The territorial 21st 'Artists' Rifles SAS Regiment is commanded by Lt. Col Keith Farnes, a regular officer. Its HQ are in B Block of the Duke of York barracks and its units are dispersed throughout the South-East of England. 23 SAS (V) was formed from the Intelligence School 9 Unit once commanded by the late Airey Neave. Its HQ are in the Kingstanding Road TA centre, Birmingham and its units are distributed throughout the north of England and Scotland. The independent 63 Signal Squadrons looks after SAS communications. SAS territorials are not a "Dad's Army" but highly trained personnel ready to replace the regulars. Thus the territorial Officers are no longer named in the official Army List. R. Squadron based in Hereford is a special territorial unit which serves on operational attachments with the regular 22nd SAS Squadrons. The SAS Group Intelligence unit known as "the Kremlin" is commanded by Major Dave Newell employing his cover as Editor of Mars and Minerva — the regimental magazine. The Director of the SAS Brig. Billiere has a seat alongside the Intelligence and Security Service Directors on the Joint Intelligence Committee that co-ordinates the operations of British Intelligence Agencies.

MACHO SUPER PRICKS or ANYWHERE ANYTIME WE'LL FIGHT

While the rest of the Army has contracted the SAS has expanded its extensive resources and great political influence. Intelligence work has become an SAS speciality in the last decade. Many of the Intelligence Officers serving in Northern Ireland are SAS MEMBERS' Col. Richard Lea, the Commander of the Lisburn-based Intelligence and Security group is a former Commanding Officer of the 21st SAS regiment.

Breaker Morant.

"Singing ooh ooh Meglomania.
Singing ooh ooh Meglomania."



Airey Neave feared Benn becoming premier

More probable though is the scheme to have the same SAS that murders "Republicans" in Northern Ireland and "terrorists" in the Iranian Embassy liquidate other "enemies of the State".
(Further details: see New Statesman 20 February 1981).



TOWARDS A CITIZENS MILITIA - A REVIEW

Our country's entire defence strategy is based on the concept of all-out nuclear warfare. There can be no doubt that in the event of global nuclear war nearly every man, woman and child in this country would be fried into oblivion. In the main, the only people to survive would be the ruling military technocratic elite, hundreds of feet below the earth in concrete bunkers — the very people who would start pushing the buttons in the first place.

There is, however, an alternative strategy for national defence; that is, the formation, nationwide of citizen's militias. Armed with military skills and supplies of arms, ammunition, explosives and other hardware, plus a program of complete nuclear disarmament. The whole *raison d'être* behind invasion by the Russians or any other foreign power would be to secure our industry and natural resources, and to secure new markets for State communist production. They would avoid nuclear war at all costs as this would prohibit these economic activities (the use of the neutron bomb which destroys all human and animal life while protecting property may prove to be an exception). If Britain had no nuclear arms at all there would be no threat of nuclear weapons being directed against us, thus saving the lives of millions.

If citizen's militias made life impossible for an occupying power by offering determined clandestine resistance and carrying out banditry everywhere, then they would be forced to withdraw (probably by granting us "independence") as the sheer costs of maintaining authority would be prohibitive to the parent power, compared to what it was actually able to get out of owning the country. (It was purely these calculated financial reasons that caused the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam).

Resistance in the absence of the government adopting a defence strategy of citizen's militias, rather than stockpiling indiscriminate nuclear weapons, it is necessary for concerned individuals to consider the possibilities for resistance in the event of the country falling to the enemy without, or the enemy within. Environmentalists who argue solar over nuclear in terms of safety, cost effectiveness, etc., are missing the point entirely as to why governments really want nuclear power, and as far as defence is concerned their pleas will fall on deaf ears until they start talking about "alternative" defence.

A DISCUSSION DOCUMENT

TOWARDS A CITIZENS MILITIA is a discussion document on the citizen's militia alternative to nuclear genocide mentioned above. It is largely a theoretical publication dealing with the organisation, strategy and tactics of irregular warfare, modifying Clausewitz's Principles of War and Functions of Land Combat to suit the requirements of unconventional military activity.

The booklet has a strange history, originating out of the Spanish Republican movement and making its way to Orkney via the Swiss Army. In its present form it has the activities of the Soviet military, the NKVD, and the KGB clearly in mind. The message should be clear. The true lover of freedom is not in the least afraid to live in a country which has no nuclear "deterrent" or other devices of indiscriminate terror, for he or she understands that, unlike property, freedom is an intangible quality which no amount of Soviet or other State armour can crush.

Ross Macgilchrist

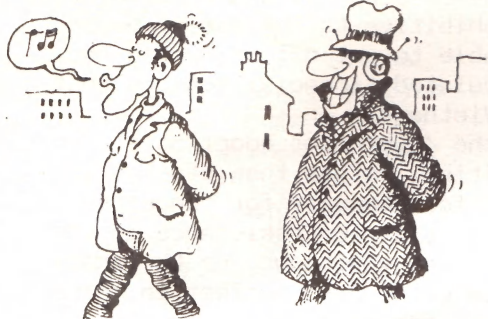
The second edition of TOWARDS A CITIZEN'S MILITIA is now being distributed through @ Distribution or is available direct from Cienfuegos Press Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2BL £1.25 (exc p&p) for individuals £10.50 institutions.

Incredibly, despite the hatred for Amies, no one collected on the widely publicised contract which was supposedly out on him, and his assailants satisfied themselves with dumping him from a car after a beating.

The case of Keith Warne also shed light upon the custodial intrigues of the North London Robbery Squad and their prisoners. Warne, a close friend of Smith's, was arrested at the same time as Berkley and Gowan. Warne however negotiated a charmed life for himself on the basis of two alternative types of evidence. He was one of the first supergrasses held by Lundy who was willing to make statements not only about his criminal associates but also about Metropolitan police involved in crime. Warne's delicate position and the need to 'keep him sweet' is believed to bear some relation to the fact that he was able to escape from police custody for a period. Warne was taken to his home to see his wife after a drinking spree with his supervising detectives. Following a shower, he made good his escape through the bathroom window taking with him a conveniently placed set of keys for a car waiting outside.

During his 'confinement', Warne was regularly taken to a public house in Bedfordshire. After the police car he was travelling in had stopped off to pick up his wife, officers would eat and drink downstairs while Warne accompanied his wife to a bedroom. On the way back from the pub Warne would have the help of the Robbery squad in choosing his provisions from a branch of Sainsbury's, these he enjoyed at his leisure in his cell at Bedford prison.

It is now evident that supergrass information, of the type that Warne was willing to give



Lundy, was primarily responsible for the setting up of Operation Countryman. Given the close links which have existed over the last six or seven years between Met. officers and professional robbers, it was inevitable that sooner or later a supergrass would bring them into his confessions. With the sabotage and failure of Countryman it is clear that the Robbery Squad have managed to 'front out' the most difficult period in their history. While they still publicly sing the praises of supergrasses as a tactical weapon to be used against criminals, all the Yard theorists are now in private agreement that evidence citing working arrangements between robbers and detectives could not be of sufficient strength to convict or even indict police officers. Apparently, while most career criminals will tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth about criminal ex-associates regardless of contracts, they will

Black Flag Page 10

only concoct vindictive lies about police officers. This despite the fact that they have all sipped the judicial elixir of judicial truth.

In the course of giving evidence most supergrasses are willing and able to turn on instant reformation, show the deepest contrition, and indicate



ANYONE LEFT IN RUSSIA?

It is said that there is an anarchist international or two. But more show than substance. The so-called Federation of federations restricts itself to a few self-styled federations in Europe and holds congresses, usually disclaiming any action going on. The AIT is ostensibly an anarcho-syndicalist international. Other than in Spain, it has no real existence. It is a pity. The Anarchist Black Cross, in raising the question of prisoners throughout the world, and libertarian prisoners in particular, has transformed itself into a working international. It only lacks major support. We manage on a shoestring (financing it through the publication of Black Flag, which thus incurs an insupportable deficit).

This sounds a bit like our page two, but the thoughts are inspired by a brief week's visit to Russia. An excursion - but with hopes of finding out whether there are any signs of anarchism in Russia. What a hope, better resign oneself to looking around St Peter & Paul fortress prison and see if they remembered Bakunin (the guide did not volunteer anything about him but said in reply to a direct question he was there, and spontaneously added "Kropotkin also", and showed me his very cell).

How to find an anarchist presence in two cities (Moscow and Leningrad) devoid of graffiti, innocent of dissident propaganda where publicity (other than conformist) is unknown? And knowing four words of Russian at that?

THIRD WORLD ANARCHISM

There are in the Soviet Union hundreds of Third World students, on exchange by their countries for Russian students. They have been there for some years, they speak Russian perfectly.

When I began talking to some South Americans, arguing about State communism I said frankly I was an anarchist. Everyone embraced me! One actually said I was the first European anarchist she had met. Many of these knew about anarchism and agreed with it thoroughly, though they had not come into contact with anarchists before.

a turn away from crime matched only by Sauls conversion on the road to Damascus. In reality nothing rings more hollow, and is inherently more sordid, than the pious contrition of a violent criminal who, to save his own neck and defend the State, has been rehearsed and reclothed for a stage managed court appearance.

Others knew of anarchist movements in some Latin American countries. They were avid for anarchist literature (but it was impossible to obtain in the USSR) and I arranged for some visits here. Perhaps more surprising to some at home will be that among African students there was the same knowledge of and friendliness to anarchism ranging to actual commitment. One said to me that he had not realised there were any Anarchists in Europe outside Spain! Many of them had first heard of anarchism through the works (denunciations) of Soviet authors; and had enthusiastically adopted it as an alternative.

A true international would be following up links with Third World countries. It is high time that we had one. The enthusiasm for Anarchism - to judge by the way I was received - was very high. All admitted that they did not know enough about anarchism (but they had a good knowledge, and one had even heard of Cienfuegos Press through the advertising campaign it had been carrying out).

RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS TODAY

A communist official told me that there were Russian Anarchists, but I would not find any among the students who were an elitist class. He almost put it that way too ("The students are assured of good jobs when they leave university if they work hard - why should they become deviants as in the west?") But such anarchists, he said, would only be found "among the most uncultured people, the people doing menial jobs". Well, that made a sort of sense; so I asked one of the (black) South African friends what he thought. "There are no committed anarchists," he said, "That I know of at least. But see for yourself...." and he approached some transport workers that he knew, telling them I was an anarchist. One old worker embraced me saying, "Durruti, Ulrike!" Does that sound as if there was nothing? If only I could have followed it up! BUT there is no question of taking addresses, posting on publications, in a dictatorship. Even if none were activists, it is good to know of the seed beneath the snow.

A.M.

In comparison with these pathetic men, few things could be more laudable than the courage of a person, whatever his past, who in refusing to name associates sentences himself with equanimity to a prison sentence of twenty years. From the point of view of the victim or from any sane point of view, no situation could be so singularly bereft of justice than the police and the judiciary conniving with violent men to gain their release from custody. Even viewed as it is in the popular consciousness, in the context of the war against crime, it is time someone somewhere began to ask and answer the real questions about supergrasses.

What will be the result in two or three years time of the short cuts in law which are presently being taken by the Robbery Squad?

Are we expected to believe that on their release in the near future men who have given supergrass evidence will gladly join the dole queues? Who will be deemed responsible for the advent of a violent criminal elite, and the development of American style policing practices in which armed detectives cohort over long periods with professional criminals? Assured by the familiarity of their secure relationship with the police and the judiciary, what is to stop career criminals laying the basis for the 'good life' with acts of robbery and then handing themselves in to collect suspended sentences from their State confessors? How long will it be before the delicate fabric of the jury trial falls apart in serious criminal cases to be replaced by pre-arranged and theatrically produced hearings organised by covert deals between the DPP, the police and the judiciary? Who is converting who in the war of values which goes on between the Robbery Squad and squads of professional villains?



Perhaps the last word should go to one of the more perceptive, if not the most articulate, of Scotland Yards anonymous spokesmen who was quoted in the Observer (January 1979) by Jack Crossley and Sue Hall: 'These high moral tones that people have are all very well.....the people we are putting away are excrement. No modern society can stand for them and if using supergrasses is one way of putting 'em away then I wish I had a million of them. If you could avoid it you wouldn't tread in a pile of dog shit as you walked down the street. But there are some things you can't avoid doing, and dealing with these people is one of them - because the end justifies the means. Its as simple as that'.

Unfortunately to many observers it often appears that dogs cannot always be blamed, and that far from the occasional accident of stepping in it, many Met. Robbery Squad officers are in fact up to their necks in it.

ENDENDNEENDNEENDNEENDNEENDNEENDNEENDNEENDNEENDNE

WHAT IS ELITISM?

Elite: A French word adopted into English meaning the choice part, the best.

But what is *elitist*? It is a word which has come into political jargon; having no clear meaning, it can be used as a political swearword.

Surely there is nothing actually wrong in being among the best of the bunch? By professing libertarian or revolutionary ideas you do enter into an elite of sorts. However little of a libertarian or a revolutionary you may be, you are bound to be the best there is in a good many bunches, other perhaps than a bunch of fellow libertarians and revolutionaries.

An *elitist*, presumably or at any rate logically, must be someone who thinks that merely because s/he is a member of an elite, s/he is entitled to special consideration.

This describes well the classic Marxist-Leninist line, namely that the educated class still at University can, by virtue of their superior education, enter the ranks of the proletariat which is deemed to be only capable by themselves of a trade union mentality, and lead them in a party of which they are the Vanguard. That is, for sure, elitism and to be condemned.

HEDGEHOGS HAVE HITHERTO ONLY INTERPRETED THE WORLD, THE POINT IS TO CHANGE IT!



No libertarian could be an elitist in that sense. Some perhaps think themselves holier-than-thou by virtue of their belief in liberty and revolution, and thereby distance themselves from anyone else. That is a trap easy to fall into and it characterises the pacifists who label their belief as "Non violence" and by implication, or even direct attribution, calls others *violent*. This is a different form of elitism, though its rewards are requested (except by the religious types, who only expect them "hereafter").

Taking part in struggle without having mass support is hardly elitism — as some critics of Anarchist activism would have it. There is a naive belief that if you wait long enough, sooner or more likely later there will be "spontaneity" and a rising of the "masses" will relieve the revolutionary of the need to worry about whether a revolution is legally possible or not, it will create its own legality, and it will be possible to back the horse when it has already won the race. Any "premature" action is therefore "elitist" or "vanguardist"! But the real elitists and vanguardists will then begin to emerge saying they counselled the revolution all the time! (According to Paul Preston in the *New Statesman* Aug 8) the Spanish Communist Party was "the backbone of resistance against the dictatorship"! — a prime example of this.

To describe any form of action as "elitist" because everyone doesn't take part in it is to say that no one may move faster than anyone else. The inactivity and apathy that is found everywhere should, if this criticism is accepted, prevail everywhere. In rejecting this, we do not consider ourselves "elitists" — and only with sadness recognise we may be "elite" — not do we consider any particular glory or reward should go to ourselves for realising in advance of the majority that nothing comes without struggle.

M.B.

THE PUNK WITH THE GOLDEN HAIR

On 14th February, Michael 'Bommi' Baumann, for years on the list of West Germany's 40 most wanted left-wing terrorists, was arrested by the British Special Branch at his home in Elderfield Road, Hackney.

36 hours later he was on the plane to Frankfurt. Now in prison in Berlin, he awaits trial on a list of charges including membership of the outlawed 2nd June Movement; taking part in 3 bank robberies; the attempted murder of a policeman and an explosion in which a worker was killed.

'Bommi' lived as 'Alex' in Hackney from the end of 1979, finding friends, especially among the young punks, and the music scene around Chats Palace. "I'd nearly given up on rock with Mr Dylan and the Stones and all those other pensioners."

33 year old 'Alex' was liked by the youth as a Grandad figure. He was fond of baby sitting too. He got odd jobs as a carpenter and also some royalties from his book 'Wie Alles Anfang' first published in 1975, confiscated by the police, later republished, and which was then the source of subsequent trials.

The book tells the story of his life from his early days as an apprentice: "The first day of my apprenticeship, on the ride to the construction site, it suddenly hit me — you're gonna be doing this for 50 years, there's no escaping it. The scare of that just stuck in my bones. I had to look for ways of getting out"

The book describes his early days in Kommune 1; his time in prison for slashing the tyres of 100 cars; the early days of the student SDS movement; the wild days of what were Furry Freak Brother-style urban guerillas, the 'Central Cttee. of the Roaming Hash Rebels';

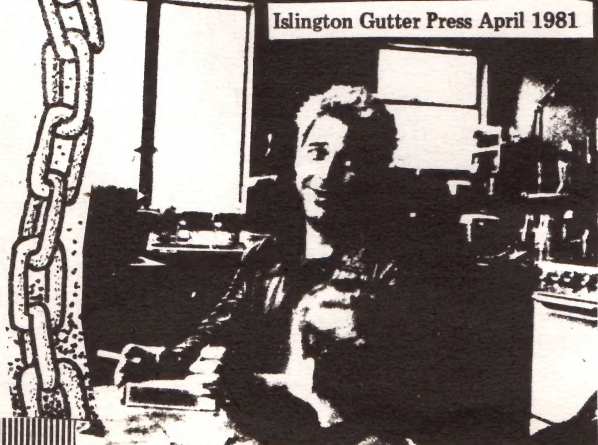
a second urban guerilla group calling themselves 'Tupamaros West Berlin'; the June 2nd Movement; and the eventual shooting down by the police of his best friend, Georg von Rauch in December 1971.

On that day Baumann threw away his gun. He said "It was only the fear of love from which I fled into absolute violence".

"The call to throw away the gun is seen by the revolutionaries as compromise or even as betrayal. It should be understood, though, as a turning toward a constructive concept, an opening up to new insights and experiments, an effort to maintain life so we don't get buried in the rubble of the collapsing system. The other side thinks about extermination often enough"

He was eventually picked up for using a phoney passport which he had got from a drop out in Goa in 1978 "I don't need it any more" said the helpful stranger. For 3 months he used the passport successfully with the Social Security. Then the 'helpful' stranger reported its loss to the German consulate. Via the central criminal computer in Germany the name on the passport went to Interpol and eventually to Scotland Yard.

Islington Gutter Press April 1981



LIBERTARIAN HISTORIES

This is the second in a series of Libertarian Histories. Like the first, it is by Liberto Miguel.

TRANSLATED BY PAUL SHARKEY

RAUL CARBALLEIRA

To Quintela and the Social Brigade he was Public Enemy No.1. They would have loved to have taken him alive but that was one pleasure that Raul denied them. The last remaining bullet in his gun was reserved for his own head.

Some argued that the police had been the ones who shot him but we cling to the belief that he died by his own hand. Whether he died by his own hand or by another's is very important for if it is true that Raul committed suicide, surrounded as he was by the police then it is clear that up to the last he retained his sense of duty and responsibility. Raul well knew that there was a limit to physical resistance by anyone, especially someone as badly wanted as he, someone with such intimate knowledge of the organisation and all its secrets. Yet there was a limit to the physical resistance such a person could put up against the torturers in Barcelona police HQ and their refined techniques.

To die by one's own hand out of a sense of despair and under the burden of depression which life sometimes lays upon our shoulders or because of the social failure we encounter, to die thus is, as we have so often seen, anything but heroic. And Vargas

Vila is only juggling with words when he seeks to show that man is a superior being in that he can end his life anytime he chooses. In most cases, suicide is the result of an inability to face up to the problems of existence.

However, Louis Lingg's suicide, or the suicide of Francisco Denis "El Catala", or the deaths by their own hands of Raul and so many other revolutionaries who ended their lives thus thwarting the "injustice" of the laws, is anything but the act of a coward;

this sublime action must be regarded as a glorious end setting a golden seal upon a life thoroughly devoted to ideals and the advancement of the cause of a FREE SOCIETY.

None better than Raul himself to tell us of the value of sacrifice: "But when the flowing torch of a noble and just ideal illuminates men's minds and burns in their breasts, what does sacrifice matter! Is it a sacrifice to give one's all, even one's life, for a generous ideal of which one is convinced and in which one has faith? Not at all, Because, for the idealist, the good he does for his fellowmen is more than compensation enough for all the dangers: as Leo Tolstoy has it, he sacrifices himself for his fellow human beings."

Without a thought for reward, generous as spring waters. His recompense springs, torrential, from the innermost recesses of his own heart."

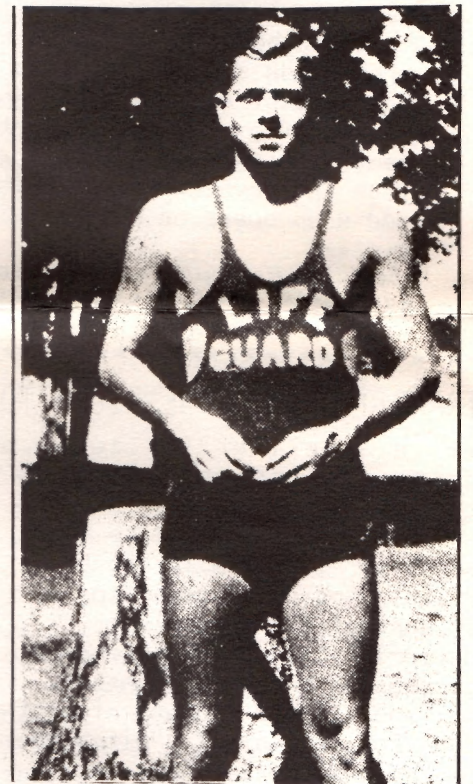
Raul's existence ended at 3pm on 26 July 1948.

Note: Under torture by the police, and rather than crack, Francisco Denis "El Catala" also took his own life in the dungeons of the police headquarters in the Via Layetana.



REPLIES TO QUIZ from page 2

1. William III's horse stumbled over a mole-hill and threw him, causing his death. So the mole was celebrated for the next century by Tories (opposed to the Revolution that had brought in the joint monarchy of William and Mary and as always "loyal" to their own only).
2. Ronald Reagan — a beach lifeguard, in the first eight years of his adult career, before becoming an actor.



3. The Ayatollah Khomeini spent his exile in France writing pseudo-Islamic tracts — published and issued in cassettes — revealing a sexual obsession with the supposed "uncleanliness of woman" which constituted his political programme.
4. Trotsky was expelled by Norway by the Social-Democratic Government which had invited him there, alleging he had broken his terms of entry by giving a newspaper interview to a foreign paper (on the same lines as he had given to its own Party organ). Trotsky expressed the hope that the Norwegian government, and "its old fogey of a Prime Minister Trygve Lie" would one day be in the same position as he was. When the government was escaping from Hitler, King Gustaf recalled these words as "Trotsky's curse".
5. Jane Clarke was one of the last Britons to be accused of witchcraft but opinion had swung against such prosecutions and she was acquitted by Leicester Assizes — notwithstanding her having been accused by a witness of having asserted that "there be no necessity of government and that England under the laws will never be free or pleasant". It is possible she was a rebel ahead of her time and that was why the other allegations of flying etc. came in, but fortunately couldn't stick in the changing climate of the times.

The day after our arrival in Cuba, the representatives of Cuba-tours forbade us to enter into conversations with any Cubans (other than our guide) and enjoined us to report any native who might be begging, because they explained, Cubans wanted for nothing. We were greatly disappointed to hear of this ban on talking with the Cubans for our whole idea was to get to know their lifestyle, their ideas and dreams and all about their work: but this the tourist was not allowed to do. We were to be reduced to viewing everything from a distance and asking our guide to lay to rest any doubts that we might have had. And from him we were to receive only ready made replies. Why prevent the people from conversing with visitors? In our estimation such a procedure is quite out of place after some 20 years of revolution.

Intrigued and curious, we entered various shops of the supermarket type, only to find that they were almost empty. The bulk of their wares comprised tinned milk of Soviet origin, spaghetti, spirits, kidney beans, rice, cigars of very poor quality and other trivial items. At no time did we spot any meat, fruit, green vegetables, cheese, sea food, ham or other foodstuffs readily available in "developing countries". Upon asking the reason for these shortages we were treated to a diatribe against the imperialist blockade: as for the very inferior quality tobacco (when Cuba produces some of the finest in the world), we were told that the top quality stuff was exported to USSR, Spain, etc.

There are "tourist shops" selling "luxury" items like scented soaps, shampoos, creams, necklaces, stockings, lotions and other articles. Access to these is not for the ordinary Cuban public, although we had no shortage of people hanging around the vicinity of the shops inveigling tourists into buying something for them.

We had not expected to find the stark contrasts which we discovered in Cuba. For instance, there are the popular districts strewn with rubbish, blocks of dirty apartments, humid and partitioned with their poor-seeming inhabitants.. contrasting with residential areas with their spotless streets and well-tended gardens, gleaming mansions with new cars and obviously wealthy owners.

Throughout the trip, we encountered a vast amount of state propaganda such as thoughts from Marx, Castro, Che, Jose Marti, etc. And the radio was the same...programmes composed of news from communist countries, statements from government figures, messages from Castro and historical episodes from the revolution: television is the same, except for the odd soap opera or cartoon with messages in support of the system.

The Cuban Revolution a Critical Perspective by Sam Dolgoff. Black Rose Books Montreal 1976 £4.00 provides a further detailed and comprehensive view of the Cuban Revolution and in particular the position of the Cuban Anarchists.

TRANSITION AND THE RIGHT TO WELL-BEING

It is a deliberate lie to say that we are in the grip of a recession, which is a temporary slump in trade, part of the ebb and flow of normality.

This does not describe the economic situation in Great Britain nor that prevailing in most of the capitalist nations. It is pure governmental propaganda to suggest that it is; and all the slogans of getting the Tories out, "ditch the bitch" and the like are an attempt to trivialise and personalise the issue. It is not Mrs Thatcher's lack of compassion or dogmatic errors that are responsible for the present slump. She could, as the previous Labour governments did, direct the economy in such a way that the nature of the unemployment crisis is overlooked. Labour governments became adept at cosmetic surgery and also, to do them justice, introduced or permitted to continue what one might call first-aid measures to help the casualties of economic crisis. these are now cut because they are clearly cosmetic and therefore "uneconomic".

But Labour politicians accepted, and made a great national saga of, the theory that there is an inevitable ebb and flow of world trade, the crisis theory of economics that balances the conspiracy theory of politics. It is untrue. This is not a recession but a transition.

TRANSITION

The capitalist world is undergoing a major change similar to economic revolutions of the past, which have displaced class after class. Now it is the working class who are being displaced. They are losing the right to work. It is not that there is a temporary lull in work: the need for work is disappearing. Technology has displaced the need for many human hands before and is doing so still. What we now see is the whole of heavy industry vanishing, whole towns and regions made redundant - not just in the industrial sense either. It is a problem of

"what to do with the people", which States have often on their hands - which criminal Statism often deals with by genocide but which less totalitarian regimes have to settle by evasive measures. There are now whole regions which the State may as well write off as no longer being financially viable. The work of keeping industry going falls into fewer and fewer hands. The industrial proletariat as such is vanishing. Under rising capitalism an expanding work force was essential, and it had power in its hands: it lost its opportunity to take over and is now paying the price.

It was always possible under rising capitalism for an increasing number of the work force employed in industry to think of itself as "middle class" socially because it once had, and in many cases still has, social advantages - not getting their hands dirty, or getting paid holidays and sickness when these were not general - which have now dwindled solely to having had further educational facilities, but with the same ability to be turned on the dustbin as anyone else - their social advantages reduced to being able to get a better grasp of the small print in DHSS circulars.

CONSEQUENCES OF DEFEAT

The working class movement was defeated long ago, or taken over by others. It has collectively no more idea of what has hit it than any of the social classes dispossessed in the past and most of the protests that have arisen have been diverted into pointless political demands with the only coherent one "the right to work". A pathetic slogan: The right to work is the right to be exploited; it is the right to be slaves, (which the government does not deny). It is the right not to be subjected to genocide, the logical outcome of redundancy for a class: which is certainly an important right, but surely we have a long way to come to that? The opposite of the right to work - the right to drop out and stagnate - is equally destructive: that is the right to accept what the State propose, capable of realisation, since no government will object to it!

WHY UNEMPLOYMENT

The capitalist countries face unemployment and "recessions" and not communist countries for a simple reason: the uninhibited free market (to which the Tory Government is devoted) means there is no economic necessity for the people who have been displaced by the technological progress of the twentieth century.

. They have therefore to be pushed out of meaningful productive jobs into the "digging holes and filling them in" type of toil, upon which governments, according to the degree of human feeling prevalent, may make variations. (One of the main ones, for instance, is the huge growth of the university industry, not to spread education, or to provide a better educated workforce, but humanely to reduce unemployment and incidentally to brainwash and condition).

The totalitarian countries are able to plan ahead and utilise their workforce as they wish. No need to use the lever of unemployment, or face union opposition through putting workers out of their homes or into jobs far below those for which they have trained. The work force there is like an army and it goes where it is put. There is no point in unemployment, all that is done is to alter the categories when putting them through the educational stage and planning for the future - fewer industrial workers, more psychiatrists; more manual jobs, more servile jobs and less skilled work for the period ten years ahead. In fact (like it or not) unemployment shows the democratic side of capitalism, not its dictatorial side; for in dictatorships there is no unemployment since people are set to work as the government requires. This does not alter the fact that unemployment is a major social evil, but the alternative is not the right to work but *the right to well-being*.



If the community advances, all are responsible - if we are not now in the conditions of the Middle ages everyone has contributed in one way or another to what is, and the right to well-being is universal. Not just for the famous, or the rich, or the well connected; not just for the proletariat or for all those who work - but *all*.

Since the major advance in technology has meant that there is not enough work for all to do, the solution lies in reducing the amount of work we do, and extending the amount of leisure that we have, and balancing work and leisure, so that work is not a punishment and leisure is not a bore. The fact that no governments of whatever hue, and no States of whatever economic background, wish to achieve this, does not mean that we cannot nevertheless insist on our basic human right to share in *well-being*. The sooner this is realised the better, for even though it needs a complete revolution, the moment this is appreciated colours our attitudes. No one need be ashamed of asking for "too much" when they know we have been deprived of everything, nor regard a mystical "social welfare" and moderate their demands accordingly.

Everything is ours, the government creates nothing. We have the right to live well. The State has no right to exist but force. AM

